POLITICAL HISTORY OF KASHMIR

K. S. SAXENA

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Political History of Kashmir

(B.C. 300—A.D. 1200)

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To
My Parents,
Kaviraj Murari Lal Saxena, Vaidya
&
Shrimati Premvati Saxena

Minister of Health
and Family Planning,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

FOREWORD

The 'Political History of Kashmir' by Dr. K.S. Saxena, dealing with the chronicles of the region for some 15 centuries, gives an interesting picture of Kashmir's contributions to the political, cultural and religious practices of the Indian sub-continent through the corridors of history. The author has made a noteworthy attempt at detailing some of the lesser known, but nonetheless important, facts about the achievements of Kashmir rulers particularly Lalitāditya, Jayāpīḍa and Saṅkaravarman whose martial exploits, foreign relations and contributions to the development of art and architecture deserve a fuller place in the history of India. While discussing the kings of the Valley, the writer has demonstrated that they often employed broad and progressive policies, maintaining cordial and fruitful relations with their neighbours as also distant countries like China and that too at a time when means of communications and travel were very limited.

There is growing interest in the early history of Kashmir, and this book is a useful addition to the work on this endlessly fascinating area of research.

New Delhi,
20th March 1974

Karan Singh

PREFACE

A study of the political history of a country's border-lands is of considerable importance for several obvious reasons. Economic considerations of trade and commerce (in which these play a vital role) apart, the frontier regions serve as avenues of cultural expansion and of contact with the rest of the world. Again, as bulwarks against aggression, these have to bear the full brunt of foreign invasions also and are quite often forced to accept foreigners both as their rulers and residents. The picturesque valley of Kashmir, too, is situated on the borders of India, forming part of its northern and north-western regions. Gifted by nature with strong and less accessible barriers on all sides, Kashmir was the last state to submit to Islamic rule some two centuries after most of northern India had been conquered and brought under the 'banner of the Crescent'. Its very seclusion has been responsible for a history of its people unique in many ways meriting serious study. Also, while the names and deeds of mighty monarchs like Aśoka Maurya and Kanishka of the Indian mainland are inseparably linked with Kashmir, the exploits and achievements of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, Jayāpīḍa, Śaṅkaravarman and Jayasiṁha—all rulers of the Valley—need their justifiable places in the annals of India. Culturally, too, some of the eminent sons of Kashmir have greatly enriched the treasures of Sanskrit literature by their exquisite compositions while religion and philosophy of the mainland, particularly Śaivism, owe no small debt to the Valley. Though most of the artistic creations of the people of the Valley have suffered immeasurably at the hands of both nature and man, yet what little remains is enough to vouch for their achievements in this sphere as well. These cultural attainments are, however, beyond the scope of the present treatment which is a revised and enlarged form of the author's thesis approved for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the Lucknow University in the year 1971.

In one respect the Valley of Kashmir differs from the rest of the subcontinent : while the Indian mainland cannot claim to have literary works dealing strictly with the political history of its people in the 'historical sense', Kashmir can justly claim to have preserved its past in its numerous *Rājataraṅgiṇīs*. Of these, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa 'is in form the nearest approach to a regular work of history'. Eminent scholars and orientalists have critically examined these chronicles. Wilson's work was a pioneer effort in this respect but, unfortunately, he had only the first seven *taraṅgas* (cantos) at his disposal, the eighth being not available at that time. Also, his work, like that of many others following immediately after him, suffers from a lack of corroboration from other historical data noticed afterwards. Troyer concentrated mainly on translating the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in French which is difficult for such readers who are not fully conversant with that language. While Cunningham and Smith pieced together the available numismatic data, by far the most valuable contribution was made by Stein who, with monumental patience and inexhaustible energy, carefully compared the various manuscripts of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and brought out a critical edition of its text together with a translation and his comments and notes. Later, R. S. Pandit also produced a translation of the same with emendations, comments and appendices in the light of subsequent research-work after Stein. Besides these two critical editions and translations in English, two standard Hindi translations—one by Pandeya Ramtej Shastri and the other by G. K. Shastri—have also seen the light of the day; but these, too, do not take much notice of the historical data available from other sources.

The contributions of Vaidya, Ray and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan series of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* bring us on firmer historical grounds but, because of the nature and wider scope of their works, many knotty problems of considerable political import received insufficient attention from them. Recently, the works of Dr. S.C. Ray and Shri P.N.K. Bamzai have done some justice to the political history of the Valley, but the stress has, in the main, been on the cultural aspects of the history of Kashmir. While the former has dealt with the political history of the Valley for about 1500 years in a little over 50 pages, the latter has devoted some 100 pages for the history of a period covering some 1700 years. The present work deals with the political history of Kashmir from the Mauryan times to the 12th century A.D.

The method of treatment in dealing with the subject-matter at hand may briefly be outlined here. Since the presentation of the work is in the nature of a book on political history, the careers and reign-periods of the kings have not been dealt with separately, but notable personalities are treated apart in separate chapters. Though the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa has been utilised as the main source of information, other works like the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja, *Kuṭṭanīmatam* of Dāmodaragupta, etc., have also been drawn upon to advantage for supplementing some assertions in the light of available epigraphic and numismatic data. Literary notices of foreign travellers have also been utilised according to the nature of the problem at hand.

It has generally been held that the political history of Kashmir, prior to the rise of the Kārkoṭas in the Valley, is vague, unsubstantiated and disputatious, as Kalhaṇa's 'treatment of the history of Kashmir down to the 7th century A. D. is exclusively based on legends and traditions'. A closer scrutiny would, however, reveal that, shorn of the embellishments and personal likes and dislikes, Kalhaṇa has made a valiant attempt at historiography of the proper type under the circumstances after analysing the evidence of 11 existing works and numerous epigraphs.

The period subsequent to the dawn of the 8th century A.D. is of very great importance in the annals of Kashmir. The rise of the Kārkoṭas in the Valley ushered in a new era of peace at home and expansion abroad. In consequence, the Indian mainland was invaded thrice by Kashmir during the reign-periods of Lalitāditya and Jayāpīḍa and later, during the reign of Śaṅkaravarman as well. Political alliance with China was sought after by the rulers of the Valley who had fully realised the menace of Arab expansion, as also the threat from Tibet. The invasion of Nepal during the reign of Jayāpīḍa is also indicative of similar political consciousness of the rulers of Kashmir. It will also be noticed that the invincible Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who ravaged the plains of India at will, had to beat a retreat in his successive attempts against the combined forces of nature and men of the Valley. Perhaps this was one of the reasons why Kashmir was the last state to succumb to Islamic onslaught as late as the 14th century A.D. when the rest of northern India had been brought under its rule some two centuries earlier.

It is unfortunate that the role of the rulers of the Valley in their efforts to help safeguard the vulnerable frontiers of India has not received due attention and appreciation. While it is true that the Kashmiri forces sent to help the Shāhis of Kabul were worsted by the Ghaznavids because of the tactical errors of their chief commander, yet it has to be conceded that the thought of the security of the country as a whole and the dangers from the rising Islamic power on the north-west had fully dawned upon its rulers.

Subsequent history of Kashmir is a sad and pitiful account of court-intrigues and struggles for the crown in which the Ekāṅgas and the Tantrins—two militarily organised bodies peculiar to the Valley itself—played major, and often decisive, roles. The larger interests of the masses and the country were shelved back and the Valley groaned under an oppressive and exacting administrative machinery dominated by the Kāyastha officials. A few enlightened rulers did try to alleviate the sufferings of the people, but their efforts were like patches of oases in the desert of corruption and misrule.

It will be noticed that the system of administration enjoyed by the people of the Valley during the period under review differs from the pattern generally advocated by some scholars. Attempt has been made to trace the origin and development of the institution of kingship there along with the growth of a formidable bureaucracy in later times and detail the functions of the latter together with the importance attached to each office. It is interesting to note that while most of the terms of administrative usage were the same as those current in the rest of India, a few were also borrowed from the neighbouring Persia, and many were peculiar to the Valley itself with their parallels in the administrative system of the country in later times.

The author is grateful to Dr. B.N. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University, whose helpful suggestions and general supervision have contributed towards the completion of this book. Further, Dr. R. K. Dikshit, formerly Professor and Head of the Department and Dr. B. N. Puri, the present Professor and Head of the Department, have laid the writer under deep and lasting obligations through their constant encouragement. The author is also grateful to Dr. Raghuvir Singh, D. Litt., for his numerous valuable suggestions and help in many ways. Also, the author would be failing in his duty if he did not express his gratefulness to other members of the staff of that Department, both past and present, as well as his friends, for their kind help in the preparation of this book. Helpful suggestions from Dr. Lallanji Gopal and Shri R.C. Agarwal, examiners of the author's dissertation, have been incorporated in the body of the book wherever suggested. Words can hardly express the gratitude of the author to these two worthies.

The author takes this opportunity to place on record his deep sense of gratitude to Shri J. P. Misra, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow Christian College, Lucknow, who has helped him with his sagacious advice and has, in fact, been a source of inspiration to him, and without whose constant supervision and sincere encouragement this work would not have come in its present form.

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The author, in all sincerity, places on record his gratefulness to Dr. Karan Singh, M.A., Ph.D., Minister of Health and Family Planning, Government of India, who, despite numerous preoccupations, could spare some of his precious time to write a Foreword to this humble attempt.

The system of transliteration adopted in the preparation of the present work is the same as followed by the Archaeological Survey of India.

Lucknow.
27th March 1974

Krishna Swaroop Saxena

CONTENTS

1. Physiographical Features and Ancient Boundaries of Kashmir 1

Presence of a Vast Lake; Dessication of the Lake; Karewas; Variety of the Valley; Lakes; Rivers; Climate; Earthquakes; Crop Products; Mineral Wealth of the Valley; Political Topography.

2. Early Historical Gleanings 14

Mauryan rule; Jalauka; Dāmodara II; Kushāṇas and Kashmir; Local Rule; Hūṇa Rule.

3. The Kārkoṭas 38

The Name Kārkoṭa; Origin and the First Kārkoṭa Ruler; Durlabhavardhana and Harshavardhana; Durlabhaka; Chandrāpīḍa-Vajrāditya; End of Chandrāpīḍa; Tārāpīḍa.

4. The Kārkoṭas at their Zenith 51

Contemporary Political Conditions; Conquests of Lalitāditya; Conquest of Kanauj: The First Encounter; The Second Attack; Southern Conquest and the Last Days of Lalitāditya; Conquests in Western India and the Triumphal Return; Threat from Tibet; Campaigns in Central Asia; Death of Lalitāditya; His Manifold Qualities and Code of Ethics; The Unfortunate Gauḍa King.

5. The Decline of the Kārkoṭas 90

Kuvalayāpīḍa; Vajrāditya; Pṛithivyāpīḍa and Saṅgrāmāpīḍa I; Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya; Usurpation of the Throne by Jajja; Details of the Campaign; Jayāpīḍa in Bengal; Subjugation of Kanauj; Overthrow of the Usurper Jajja; Further Conquests and Adventures; Invasion of Nepal; Tyrannies and Oppressions; Coins of Jayāpīḍa; Decline of the Kārkoṭas; Lalitāpīḍa; Saṅgrāmāpīḍa II; Chippaṭajayāpīḍa; Struggle for Power and Ajitāpīḍa—Anaṅgāpīḍa and Utpalapīḍa.

6. The Rise of the Utpalas 111

Avantivarman; Influence of Śūra; Achievements of Avantivarman; Rebellion of Dhanva Ḍāmara; Śaṅkaravarman; Conquests; War against Dārvābhisāra; Victory over the Ruler of Trigarta; Victory over the Gurjara Chief in the Punjab; Atrocities of Śaṅkaravarman; End of Śaṅkaravarman; Gopālavarman; Rise of the Tantrins; Shāhi Rebellion; Death of Gopālavarman; Saṅkaṭa; Sugandhā.

7. The Downfall of the Utpalas 125

Pārtha; The Great Famine; Nirjitavarman, Chakravarman; Śūravarman I; Pārtha; Chakravarman; Śambhuvardhana; Chakravarman and Saṅgrāma Ḍāmara; Restoration of Chakravarman, Unmattāvanti; Śūravarman II; Kamalavardhana and Contemporary Politics.

8. The Dawn of a New Era 135

Yaśaskara; Varṇaṭa; Death of Yaśaskara; Saṅgrāmadeva; Parvagupta; Kshemagupta; Diddā's Influence; Abhimanyu; Rebellion of Mahiman; Rise of Yaśodhara and His Rebellion; Naravāhana—His Rise and Fall, The Uprising of the Ḍāmaras; Death of Abhimanyu II; Nandigupta; Tribhuvana; Bhīmagupta; Diddā, Diddā as Queen, Rebellion of Ministers and Vigraharāja; Appointment of Saṅgrāmarāja as *Yuvarāja*, Diddā—an Estimate.

9. The Advent of the Loharas 160

Saṅgrāmarāja; Tuṅga at His Zenith; Brāhmanical Revolt; Saṅgrāmarāja and the Shāhis; Mahmud and Kashmir; First Invasion, Second Attack on Kashmir; Downfall of Tuṅga; The Aftermath; Harirāja; Ananta; Vigraharajā's Bid for the Throne; Shāhi Dominance at Kashmir Court; Ḍāmara Uprising; Fresh Troubles; Death of Rājarāja and Transfer of Royal Abode; Administrative Reforms; Khaśa Uprising and Conquests by Ananta; Uprisings and Haladhara in Disgrace; Renunciation of Throne by Ananta.

10. Kalaśa 180

Ananta and Kshitirāja of Lohara; Kalaśa Takes to Evil Ways; Kalaśa Assumes State Responsibilities; Kalaśa and Harsha; Administrative Reforms of Kalaśa; The Rājapurī Affairs; Foreign Expeditions; Invasion of Uraśā; Convention of Neighbouring Rulers; Last Days of Kalaśa; Death of Kalaśa, Estimate; Utkarsha; Early Troubles; Entry Into the Capital; Revolt of Vijayamalla.

11. Harsha 200

The Policy of Appeasement; Administrative Reforms; Rebellion of Vijayamalla; Liberal Innovations; The Royal Court and its Splendour; Uprising of Bhuvanarāja; Revolt of Saṅgrāmapāla; Plot Against Kandarpa and his Fall; Exactions of Harsha; Second Expedition Against Saṅgrāmapāla; The Dugdhaghāta Expedition; Execution of Madana; Suppression of the Ḍāmaras; Days of Intrigues; Invasion of Uchchala; Rebellion of Sussala; Demoralisation and Dissatisfaction amongst Harsha's Followers; Malla Assassinated; Capture of Vijayeśvara by Sussala; Uchchala Captures Śrīnagar; Death of Harsha.

12. Uchchala and Sussala 227

Trouble by the Ḍāmaras; Administrative Reforms; Revolt of Sussala and the Rise of Pretenders; Other Revolts and Attempts for the Throne; Bhikshāchara; Rumours of the Death of Uchchala; A Murder Plot; Affairs of Rājapurī, Assassination of Uchchala; Raḍḍaśaṅkharāja; Salhaṇa; Ascendancy of Gargachandra; Salhaṇa Imprisoned; Sussala; Revolt of Gargachandra; Other Revolts; Execution of Garga; Expedition Against Rājapurī; Revolt at Lohara; Uprising of the Ḍāmaras; Bhikshachara's Appearance; Bhikshāchara; The Expedition to Lohara; Reappearance of Sussala; Sussala's Return to Power, Fresh Attempts by Bhikshāchara and his Supporters; Renewed Attempt by Bhikshāchara; Crowning of Jayasiṁha and his Confinement; Last Days of Sussala.

13. Jayasiṁha 256
Revolt at Lohara; Subsequent Developments; Mallārjuna; Fresh Attempts by Koshṭheśvara and Fall of Mallārajuna; Relations with Contemporary Chieftains and Rulers, Intervention in the Darad Affairs; Fresh attempt by Loṭhana; Another Attempt at Rebellion by Bhoja; The Peaceful Years.

14. Kashmir After Jayasiṁha 275
Paramāṇuka; Vantideva; Vopyadeva; Jassaka; Jagadeva

15. Administration 281
Kings and Kingship; Caste; Succession; Checks and Limitations; Royal Courts ; Central Administration; Foreign Relations; Provincial Administration; Village Administration; Ābhyantara; Adhikaraṇa and Adhikaraṇalekhaka; Akshapaṭala and Akshapaṭalādhīśa; Āsthāna, Āsthānīya; Aṭṭapatibhāga; Bāhyāli; Dānapaṭṭaka; Daṇḍanāyaka; Dhanādhyaksha; Dharmādhikaraṇa and Dharmādhyaksha; Divira; Dvārādhikāra, Dvārādhikārin, Dvārādhipa, Dvārādhīśvara, Dvāranāyaka and Dvārapati; Gañja, Bṛihadgañjādhipa, Chalagañja, Gañjavara, Gañjeśa, Jayākaragañja, Sindhugañja; Gṛihakṛitya, Gṛihakṛityādhikāra and Gṛihakṛityādhikārin; Kampana, Kampanādhipati, Kampanādhīśa, Kampaneśa, Kampanodgrāhaka; Kāyastha, Grāmakāyastha, Aśvaghāsakāyastha, etc., Mahābhāṇḍāgāra, Mahāpratihārapīḍā, Mahāsādhanabhāga, Mahāsandhivigraha and Mahāśavaśālā; Nagarādhikṛita, Nagarādhipa; Nāyaka, Arthanāyaka; Pārshad, Pārshada, Pārishadya, Dvijapārshad; Rājasthāna; Rājasthānādhikārabhak, Bāhyarajasthānādhikārabhāk, Rājasthānīya; Śeḍa; Stheya; Irrigation; Revenues.

16. Coins 318
Maps and Plates

Bibliography 329

Index 336

LIST OF MAPS AND PLATES

Maps
1. Political Map of Kashmir.
2. Campaigns of Lalitaditya.

Plates
I. Coins of Pratāpāditya, Jayāpīḍa and Śaṅkaravarman.
II. Coins of Sugandhā (Queen), Kshemagupta and Diddā (Queen).
III. Coins of Ananta Kalaśa and Harsha.
IV. Coins of Sussala Jayasiṁha and Jagadeva.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
A.G.I.	*Ancient Geography of India.*
C.H.K.	*Cultural Heritage of Kashmir.*
C.M.I.	*Coins of Medieval India.*
D.H.N.I.	*Dynastic History of Northern India.*
D.K.M.	*Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha.*
E.M.C.T.N.I.	*Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India.*
E.H.D.	*Early History of Deccan.*
E.H.I.	*Early History of India.*
E.I.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
G.A.M.I.	*Geography of Ancient and Medieval India.*
Hand Book	*Hand Book of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.*
H.H.K.	*Hindu History of Kashmir.*
H.K. (Tripathi)	*History of Kanauj.*
H.K. (Bamzai)	*History of Kashmir.*
H.M.H.I.	*History of Medieval Hindu India.*
H.S.I.	*History of South India.*
I.A.	*Indian Antiquary.*
I.H.Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
J.A.S.B.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
J.B.B.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J.B.O.R.S.	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
J.B.U.	*Journal of the Bombay University.*
J.N.S.I.	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
J.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.*
J.U.P.H.S. (N.S.)	*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society (New Series).*
M.G.	*Mahmud of Ghaznin.*
N.I.A.	*New Indian Antiquary.*
P.H.A.I.	*Political History of Ancient India.*
P.H.N.E.I.	*Political History of North-Eastern India.*
S.H.A.I.B.	*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal.*
S.I.E.	*South Indian Epigraphy.*
S.M.G.	*Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.*
R.T.	*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, of Kalhaṇa.
R.T. (J)	*Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja.

1

PHYSIOGRAPHICAL FEATURES AND THE ANCIENT BOUNDARIES OF KASHMIR

The northern frontiers of the sub-continent of India are guarded by the lofty and snow-capped Himalayas which stretch from the westernmost extremities of the region to the eastern and beyond. These natural barriers have, in the north-western portions, several passes which have afforded ways for foreign contacts, trade and commerce, cultural intercourse and also for military invasions. Towards the north—rather the north-north-west—lie the Pamir plateaus which are the meeting grounds of several countries. Stretching from the southern extremities of the plateau and south of the Karakoram range lies one of the world's most wonderful pieces of scenic land known as Kashmir. At present, this land is politically known as the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Its northern and eastern boundaries are coterminus with those of China. The western regions have common frontiers with Pakistan. Towards the south-west, its frontiers again meet with those of Pakistan, while in the south its hills slope into Himachal Pradesh state of India. The state is gifted with such rare, natural scenic beauty that it has been called virtually 'a heaven on earth.'

Ever since the dawn of recorded history of the sub-continent, Kashmir has figured in its annals as an important limb of it. Its early history, however, suffers very much in the same way as the ancient history of India as a whole—lacking in sufficient historical data for a reconstruction of its past. In the case of Kashmir, too, these difficulties are aggravated as it suffers most from the same defect. The reason is obvious; this tract of country has been continuously ravaged, its epigraphic evidence mostly destroyed and the monumental or artistic pieces have also suffered heavily at the hands of bigotry and religious fanaticism. Gifted as it is by nature, it is equally so in human beauty, and perhaps this has also contributed towards its chequered fate. The available sources or original authorities for an appraisal of its past can be counted on fingers and our knowledge o these is confined to literary data in the main. Fortunately, in spite of the ravages wrought by man and nature, literary evidence has been available for such a reconstruction.

If a surveyor scans the physical map of the north and north-western regions of India, his eyes would strike at a portion set in a mass of high and black mountains. These mountainous regions form the elliptical valley of Kashmir, named as 'Kashir' by its residents. The valley has a well-grounded fame for something characteristic, if not unique, as it is superimposed by a girdle of lofty mountains. Their position and form are such that there is hardly a parallel to it in the whole of the Himalayas, barring the few '*duns*' and the valley of Nepal.[1] The present state of Jammu and Kashmir occupies an area of about 2,22,870 sq. kilometres extending from lat. 30°17′ to 36°58′ north and long. 73°26′ to 80°30′ east,[2] and comprises the regions of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh.

The political boundaries of ancient Kashmir have frequently synchronised with the changing political conditions in the country from time to time. Ptolemy mentions Kashmir (Kaspeiria) as situated between the Darad land on the Indus and the land of the Kulindas on the Hyphasis (Beas) and further eastward.[3] He also mentions that the region was 'held by the Kaspeiraeans.'[4] The famous Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, who visited the land in A.D. 631 and stayed there for about two years, places Kia-she-me-lo (Kashmir) between the Chenab and the Indus to the foot-hills of the Salt range. According to him, the country was bounded by Uraśā in the west, Taxila and Siṁhapura in the south-west and Punch and Rajauri in the south.[5] He mentions the country as being 7,000 *li* or roughly 1,850 kilometres in circuit.[6] This must have been the extent of the empire of the contemporary emperor and not of the Kashmir valley itself, which actually is only about 500 kilometres in circuit.

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[1] Wadia, D. N., *Geology of India*, p. 435.

[2] *India*, 1969, p. 455.

[3] Ptolemy, VII, i. pp. 21, 40-42, 47; vide Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 351.

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 188.

[6] *Ibid*.

Nature itself, when creating the great oval valley of Kashmir and its encircling walls of high mountains, seems to have ensured to this territory a distinct geographical character. In the north and the west, the valley is well guarded from the outer world by range after range of high mountains; on the south it is cut off from the Punjab[1] by rocky barriers some 80 to 100 kilometres in width.[2] The height of the Kashmir valley is nowhere less than 1,500 metres and the altitude assures a climate free from heat, so common to the rest of India. The contours of mountain ridges that enclose the valley vary considerably in height. The loftiest points are on the north-east where some peaks rise to some 5,500 metres and the lowest ones are under 3,000 metres near the southernmost part of the oval.[3] It is not the army of Kashmir but the high mountains that have often come to the defence of the valley. Kalhaṇa also speaks of Kashmir as unconquerable by forces of soldiers due to the protection afforded by its high mountain walls.[4] However, the modern means of communications both by land and air have nullified the proud claims of the poet. The Pir Panjal range forms the southern and south-western boundary of Kashmir and extends from Banihal pass to the valley of the Vitastā (Jhelum). All important trade-routes towards the Punjab cross this mountain barrier. Karnav, ancient Karṇāha, and Mount Haramukuṭa are in the northern mountain ranges.[5] The small forts which have been built on mountain passes leading into the valley are mentioned in the Chronicle[6] as '*dvāras*' (gates) or by the more specific term '*draṅga*' or '*ḍhakka*'.[7]

Immediately outside Kashmir, the mountain regions, almost in every direction, were occupied by the refractory hill tribes. The northern regions of Kashmir were in the hands of hardy Darads and the southern were held by the restless Khaśas (Khakhas).[8]

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[1] Throughout this book, 'Punjab' refers to the land of five rivers, i.e. roughly the areas which, in 1973, were comprised in the West Punjab province of Pakistan and Punjab state of India.

[2] Lawrence, W., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 12.

[3] Drew, F., *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 162.

[4] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, i, 31, 39.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2485; see also Vol. II, pp. 405-07.

[6] Thoughout this book, 'Chronicle' refers to Rājataraṅgiṇī.

[7] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, i, 122, iii, 227; v, 39; II, p. 291.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, i, 317; v, 152.

Presence of a Vast Lake.

Originally, according to ancient legends of Kashmir, the valley was a vast lake in the distant past. Kalhaṇa has also mentioned this legend in his Chronicle and his source for this information seems to have been the *Nīlamata Purāṇa.*[1] This lake was called 'Satīsaras,—the lake of Satī Durgā—and a demon, Jalodbhava (water-born), lived in it. Because of untold miseries caused by that demon, the Nāga inhabitants of the Kashmir valley prayed to sage Kaśyapa to punish the former. The gods, along with the sage, made a drain by piercing mountains to turn the lake dry and Vishṇu, after a fierce combat, slew the demon and relieved the people.[2] Kaśyapa then settled the land of Kashmir which had thus been drained off of water.[3] The story of the dessication of this lake has also been mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in the form of a Buddhist legend.[4] Abul Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, has also mentioned this legend.[5] Bernier, too, has repeated it, stating that the country of Kashmir (Kachemire) was formerly one vast lake and that an outlet for water from that lake was made out by a sage.[6] From that time, it has found its way into almost every account of Kashmir.

Dessication of the Lake.

The legend of this dessication and the presence of a vast lake in the Kashmir valley has already been proved true by many eminent geologists on geological grounds and foremost among them was Godwin Austen, who in 1864, subscribed to this view which has been followed by later scholars.[7] According to him, the valley was formed by the uprise of Pir Panjal and was drained dry by cutting the Jhelum defile below Baramula. Frederic Drew, in 1875, favoured this view, which was also supported by Lydekker in 1883.[8] But Oldham holds a different opinion; according to him, 'even the lacustrine deposits do not prove that the whole of the Kashmir lake basin was ever occupied by a lake.'[1] Lawrence mentions further that Austen and Drew were of opinion that the lacustrine deposits found in the valley called *Uḍras* or *Karewas* prove that a great lake should have existed there.[2] In 1906, Oestreich, dealing with the course of the stream below Baramula, did not discuss the origin of the lake. Dainelli, on the other hand, is of opinion that the *Karewa* lake had its spillway below Baramula and the damming of the water was temporary but a brief span in early Pleistocene age.[3] All the preceding geologists agree on this one point—that the Jhelum ravine was the place through which the water of the *Karewa* lake was drained away, but none of them have envisaged the damming process of it. Recent scholars like Wadia also hold the opinion that 'the *Karewas* in their upper part, at least, are supposed to be the relics of old extensive lake basins, which intermittently came into existence during the warm interglacial periods of melting ice and which periodically filled the whole valley of Kashmir from end to end to a depth of more than 300 metres.'[4]

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[1] *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, vv., 111-183.

[2] *R.T.*, I, i, 25-27.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 189.

[5] *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Jarrett, H. S.), II, p. 376.

[6] Bernier, *Travels*, p. 393.

[7] De Terra, H., and Paterson, T.T., *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, p. 116 ff.

[8] Drew, F., *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 167ff; for Lydekker, cf., De Terra and Paterson, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

Karewas.

The physical geography of Kashmir has certain interesting and noteworthy features of which the '*Karewas*' deserve special mention. Where the spring and summer water is drained off, the surface of the soil becomes alluvial and, at the same time, its edges are gravelly, as is natural since gravel is washed down from the slopes of the hills.[5] The upper surface is coated with clay-silt, particles of sand, and loam, thus affording a few centimetres of rich soil worthy of cultivation. Since these '*Karewas*' are formed in drained-off valleys, these are sometimes narrow to the extent of three to five kilometres only, whereas at their broadest they are some 20 to 25 kilometres. The '*Karewa*' or such a plain is narrowest near Srinagar and some 15 to 20 kilometres below Islamabad,[6] but it assumes width beyond.

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[1] Cf. Lawrence, W., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 50.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] De Terra and Paterson, *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

[4] Wadia, D. N., *Geology of India.*, p. 408.

[5] Lawrence, W., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 17.

[6] This is a small town about 50 kilometres south-east of Srinagar and should not be confused with the Pakistani capital of the same name.

tainsides strike against them, and the clouds are pressed like olives or grapes, in consequence of which the rains pour down, and the clouds never pass beyond the mountains. Therefore, Kashmir has no *varshākāla*, but continual snowfall during two and a half months, beginning with Māgha, and shortly after the middle of Caitra continual rain sets in for a few days, melting the snow and cleansing the earth.'[1] In latitude, Kashmir corresponds with the following places 'in Asia, Peshawar, Baghdad and Damascus; in Africa, Fez in Morocco and, in America, South Carolina.'[2] But its height of 1,500 to 1,800 metres above the sea level gives it a far more temperate climate than what any of the corresponding places enjoy.[3]

It is due to this cool climate that, as a health-resort, the state has no match anywhere else in India and compares favourably with any other in the entire world. Kalhaṇa, too, proudly claims that Kashmir is exempted from the torrents of a fierce sun.[4] Even in the hilly regions immediately to the south of Pir Panjal, the climate is quite hot, and unbearable even to the Kashmiris. The hottest months are July and August, during which period the temperature in the shade at noon varies from 30 °C to 32 °C, and occasionally to 35 °C at Srinagar, which is probably the hottest place in the valley. The air is then oppressive, especially for a day or two before the rains fall.[5] The coldest months are December, January and February when the temperature is 2 °C to 3 °C. In these months the morning temperature of Srinagar is a little below freezing point. The first fall of the snow upon the mountains generally occurs about the beginning of October, but it is slight and soon melts; the heavy falls begin both on the mountains and plains towards the middle of December and sometimes continue till the end of April after which the snow appears only on the peaks of the loftier mountains. The danger to the rice-crops from premature snowfalls, which cause famines, is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa in his Chronicle.[6]

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1. Alberuni, *India*, (Sachau), I, pp. 211-12.
2. Drew, F., *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 170.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *R.T.*, I, i, 41 '......the hot-rayed sun honours it by bearing himself with softness even in summer.' (Pandit's trans. ii, 38-42).
5. Ince, John, *Kashmir Hand-Book*, pp. 16-17.
6. *R.T.*, I, ii, pp. 18-19.

Earthquakes.

Earthquakes are pretty frequent during the summer months; the shocks, though usually slight, are occasionally severe and devastative as in the years 1552 A. D., 1680 A. D., and on the 28th June, 1828.[1]

Crop Products.

The climatic conditions do not allow Kashmir two complete harvests, but two crops can be harvested from the same land. Barley, sown in about November, ripens towards the middle or end of June; after that, maize or millet or some of the pulses may be sown. Neither wheat nor rice allow of a second crop in the same year as both occupy the soil for too many months. Sown in the late autumn, wheat ripens in about the middle of July and is not of a very good quality, perhaps due to an excess of moisture. Rice, which is sown at the end of May or the beginning of June, ripens in October. Much water is needed for this crop and it has been the largest and most important produce of the valley.[2]

Mineral Wealth of the Valley.

The typical geological formation of the Kashmir valley has provided it a rich variety of useful minerals in abundance, thus improving its economy and industry. It has also made Kashmir almost self-sufficient. According to Wadia, 'of the vast extent of the Himalayan region, the only proved mineralised region of importance is the territory of Kashmir south of the Great Himalayan Axis. ....'[3] Though many minerals are found in and outside the valley, those worthy of note are many types of clay, lignite, peat, aluminium, chromite, zinc and gypsum. Besides industrial minerals, precious stones like sapphires, acquamarines, tourmalines, tourquoise and opaque are also found here. Further, thermal and mineral springs of sulphur, saline and magnesium are also not lacking in Kashmir.[1]

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[1] Ince, John, *Kashmir Hand-Book*, pp. 17-18.

[2] It is, however, suggested that barley, maize and wheat are the crops grown in the valley (Banerji, S. C., *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir*, p.5). But it may be pointed out that the valley of Kashmir is more suited to rice and the next in importance would be maize and wheat. The Kashmiris themselves attach much importance to the cultivation of the former (rice) and saffron.

[3] Wadia, D. N., *Geology of India*, p. 444.

Political Topography.

So far as the study of political topography of the valley is concerned, it would be easier to start with a survey of its neighbouring frontier states. Politically and geographically, the application of the term Kashmir valley was generally restricted to the great basin of the Vitastā (Jhelum) and the side-valleys drained off by its tributaries above the Varāhamūla (Baramula) defile.

In the south-east of Kashmir was situated the principality of Kāshṭhavāṭa or Kashṭavār (modern Kishtavar) on the upper Chenab, whose chiefs enjoyed practically independent status. It has been mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a separate hill-state in the time of Kalaśa.[2] Between the aforesaid state and Kangra (ancient Trigarta) lay the hill-state of Champā (modern Chamba).[3] The ancient ruling Rajput family of Champā contracted matrimonial relations with the Lohara kings of Kashmir.[4]

To the west of Champā and south of Bhadrāvakāśa, was the small free state of Vallāpura (modern Ballavar), also known to Alberuni.[5] The Hindu residents of this hilly area including Ballavar call themselves Dogras and their country as Dugar.[6] Immediately below the Banihal Pass in the territory of Vitastā lived the Khaśas (modern Khakhas) with their castles. A 'Khaśa Lord' gave shelter to Bhikshāchara which, at that time, was evidently independent.[7] For some time, the Khaśas were subservient to Kashmiri rulers, but for a greater part, they enjoyed subsidies from the rulers of Kashmir.[8]

By far the most important of the hill-states in this region was the ancient

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[1] Wadia. D.N., *Geology of India*, pp. 448, 450, 461, 470, 472, 486, 489, 492 and 500.

[2] *R.T.*, I, vii, 590 (Stein's note).

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 218; also Stein's note on 588.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1512; II, viii, 1443.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 220, 270, 588; II, viii, 539, 542, etc.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, p. 432.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1665.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2283 (Stein's note).

Rājapurī, now represented by the present district of Rajauri.[1] It comprises the valleys watered by the river Tohi and its tributaries. Owing to its strategic position on the most direct route to the Punjab, it formed part of the Kashmir kingdom.[2] The Chinese pilgrim, in his visit to India, adopted the same route for his visit to the country. The upper valley of Tohi (Prunts), leading to Pir Panjal pass, was also within the Rājapurī territory.[3] The famous stronghold of Rājagiri, known also to Alberuni, was, in all probability, situated there.[4]

Lohara was situated on the north-west of Rājapurī and included the valley known as Lohrin.[5] It gained importance towards the end of the 11th century A.D. in the annals of Kashmir, when the ruling family of Lohara, a branch of the main line, came to occupy the throne of Kashmir. Lohara seems to have been included in the Kashmir kingdom along with Parṇotsa (modern Punch or Prunts) in the lower valley of Tohi.[6] It is interesting to note that Hiuen Tsang shows acquaintance with the town of Parṇotsa though Kalhaṇa mentions Lalitāditya as its founder.[7]

Even in the early decades of the present century, the hills to the south-east of Punch (Prunts) were held by petty chiefs known as Rājās of Kotli. Possibly, the small state of Kāliñjara, repeatedly referred to by Kalhaṇa and known also to Firishta, lay somewhere here.[8]

Beyond the north-west of Parṇotsa lies the valley of Vitastā. In ancient times it was an outer frontier district of Kashmir as far down as Bolyāsaka, the present Buliasa.[9]

Further west, beyond the course of the Vitastā, was situated the ancient kingdom of Uraśā.[10] A large part of this kingdom lay between the rivers

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 286 (Stein's note), 348-49, 351; vii, 105, 267, 533, 539; Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki.*, p. 200.

[2] *R.T.*, I, pp. 87, 106, 113.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 959 (Stein's note).

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1270 (Stein's note); *India*, (Sachau), I, p. 208.

[5] *R.T.*, I, iv, 177 (Stein's note).

[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 18.

[7] Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, pp. 199-200; *R.T.*, I, iv, 184; cf. also Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 107-08.

[8] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1256 (Stein's note).

[9] *Ibid.*, I, v, 214.

[10] *Ibid.*, II, p. 434; Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 187.

Vitastā and the Indus. Hiuen Tsang mentions this territory as Wu-la-shi and a tributary to Kashmir.

The Kishenganga valley, which is now known as Karnau, bore the ancient name of Karṇāha and was held by petty chiefs owing nominal subservience to Kashmiri kings even in later times. The inhabitants of this region, known as the Khaśas, are represented by the modern Bomba clans of Karnau. The valley of Kishenganga above its junction with the Karnau river and as far as Sardi formed a separate tract known as 'Drāva'. The Chronicle mentions some regions, such as '*Durāṇḍa*', which, judging from their geographical context, must be located somewhere here. As such, the identification of 'Drāva' with '*Durāṇḍa*' appears quite logical.[1]

Through Sardi leads a road towards 'Chilas' on the Indus just above the Sardi region, and the valley of the Kishenganga turns, as noted earlier, into a narrow gorge. Through the other end of this gorge is reached the territory of the Darads. More explicitly, this range continues from Sardi in a slightly south-easterly direction for about 150 kilometres. The upper course of the Kishenganga in these regions was inhabited by the Darads and known as Daraddeśa.[2]

The Tibetan inhabitants beyond Zojila pass were known as the Bhauṭṭas.[3] Unfortunately, it is not possible to offer much data about the governmental organization of the Bhauṭṭas and the political arrangement of these tracts for lack of any authentic and reliable evidence. Even the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* does not furnish much information about them. They are referred to by Jonarāja and Śrīvara, and the valley of Kashmir suffered foreign invasions from their side.[4] Śrīvara, a later chronicler, was more acquainted with the term Bhauṭṭas and has mentioned their abode as the 'Little and Great Bhauṭṭa Land.'[5]

The area below the territory of the Bhauṭṭas and up to Kāshṭhavāṭa was probably inhabited by fewer people due to the severity of climate and difficult living conditions.[6]

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 2709 (Stein's note).
2. *Ibid.*, II, p. 435.
3. *Ibid.*, I, i, 312; iv; 168; II, p. 435.
4. *R.T.*, (Jonarāja), 142.
5. *R.T.*, (Śrīvara), iii, 445.
6. *R.T.*, (Stein), II, p. 435.

From the foregoing account, it is apparent that, due to its peculiar physical features, difficulties of access and lack of means for sustenance, this part of the country remained very much in isolation till the days of the Mauryas; yet, at the same time, the gifted valley was ever green in the memory of such traders, travellers and religious propagators through whom contact was maintained with it in an uninterrupted chain. Besides, the Hindu pantheon emphasised its importance in the shape of one of its holiest of holy shrines—that of Amarnath. To a devout Hindu, it was one of his cherished ambitions to visit the place. Later, during the 'historical' period of recorded history, Buddhist missionaries propagated Buddhism there during the reign of Aśoka.[1] Since then, historians are on firmer grounds. Yet, at the same time, it may be noted here that this lack of contact has affected the course of the history of Kashmir profoundly; it has given the people a sort of separate ethnic entity, a different history and culture peculiar to them alone. Also, alongside, one comes across a spoken language which presents a picture of heterogeneous admixture of Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Persian.

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[1] *Divyāvadāna*, VIII; *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII; cf. Sastri, K.A.N., *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 216; Ray, S.C., *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 5.

foundation of Srinagar is also attributed to that pious king.[1] At the same time, building of two temples within the obviously spacious enclosures of Vijayeśa speaks of Aśoka's liberal religious policy of which he repeatedly speaks in his edicts.[2]

Socially, these areas were more prone to an order advocated by Buddhism, for there was a heterogeneous admixture of Indians, Persians and Greeks, not, it may be pointed out, excluding the elements of the Tibeto-Chinese peoples.

Thus, it will be seen that the king mentioned by the name Aśoka could be none else but Aśoka Maurya. Surprisingly enough, the evidence of Kalhaṇa tallies with that gleaned from both legendary and literary Buddhist sources. As noted above, Aśoka is said to have founded Srinagar or Śrīnagarī, and the architectural activity undertaken during the regime of that mighty monarch calls for detailed notice. Legend has it that Aśoka got erected 84,000 *stūpas* and some of these were situated in Kashmir.[3] In this connection, one aspect deserves special mention; according to Kalhaṇa, the older stucco enclosure of the temple of Vijayeśvara was replaced by a new one of stone so as to be lasting. It appears that Aśoka was very fond of stone enclosures as is proved by the example of another stone enclosure (*Silā vigaḍa*) at Rummindei.[4] The monarch showed his liberal attitude to all religions by causing to be built two temples there, both known as Aśokeśvara. Further, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Aśoka dispatched Majjhantika to propagate Buddhism in Kashmir and Gandhāra.[5] This evidence of *Mahāvaṁsa* is also corroborated, though partially, by one of his edicts,[6] wherein he speaks of appointing *Dhamma-Mahāmātras* in "*Yona-Kamboja-Gandhāra*" countries.[7] Furthermore, the *Dīpavaṁsa* also mentions

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1. *R.T.*, I, i, 102-03.
2. R. E., XIII, Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 35-40.
3. Raychaudhuri, H. C., *P. H. A. I.*, p. 308. The early notices of these from indigenous and foreign sources shall be taken up subsequently.
4. Lumbini Pillar Ins., Sircar, D. C., *S. I.*, p. 70.
5. *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII; Sastri, K. A. N., *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 216.
6. R. E., V; XIII, Sircar, D. C., *S. I.*, p. 23; *ibid.*, p. 35-40.
7. R. E., V; P. E., VII, *ibid.*, pp. 23, 65-69.

the appointment of Majjhantika as the Buddhist missionary to Kashmir (and Gandhāra also) and corroborates the evidence of *Mahāvaṁsa.*[1]

Kalhaṇa has, no doubt, followed a chronological order which was based on traditions. Though the Chronicler[2] claims 'proper arrangement' of his account, yet one of his earlier *ślokas* is more in the form of an apology for any discrepancies.[3] His placing of Aśoka somewhere in 1400 B. C. is clearly open to grave doubts, though a few scholars have made an attempt to find excuse for his views and also supported him (Kalhaṇa).[4] Historically, it is not possible to place him even before the Buddha, as the latter's date, from all accounts, does not go beyond the 6th century B. C.[5] Moreover, it is clear from the above account that Aśoka of the Chronicle could be none else but Aśoka Maurya.

Jalauka.

Aśoka breathed his last either in 234 or 232 B. C.[6] and the controversy of a possible division of the Mauryan empire after his demise is hinted at in the Chronicle. According to Kalhaṇa, Aśoka was succeeded by his son Jalauka in Kashmir, who 'has more appearance of reality than Kuṇāla.'[7] This prince was able to crush the Mlechchhas or Greeks in the lifetime of his father.[8] Jalauka is not heard of in any of the Buddhist works and a credible reason for this may be offered for this omission.

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[1] *Dīpavaṁsa*, Ch. VIII; *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. XII; cf. Sastri, K. A. N., *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 216.

[2] Throughout this book, 'Chronicler' refers to Kalhaṇa.

[3] *R.T.*, I, i, 22.

[4] Triveda, D. S., *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1938, p. 45; Mankad, D. R., *Paurāṇic Chronology*, pp. 151-53.

[5] The consensus amongst scholars has been followed here and adhered to regarding the Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa* in 486-87 B. C. or 483 B. C. (Raychaudhuri, H. C., *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 225-28).

[6] Thapar, R., *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, pp. 50-51; Raychaudhuri, H. C., *P. H. A. I.*, p. 348; Barua, B. M., *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, p. 13. However, if the Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa* took place in 486 B. C., according to the Chinese 'dotted record,' then Aśoka's death may have occurred in 236 B. C. (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 228).

[7] Smith, V. A., *Early History of India*, p. 201.

[8] *R.T.*, I, i, 107.

According to the Chronicler, Jalauka had pronounced leanings towards Hinduism, or more accurately, Śaivism.[1] As such, it is quite natural for the Buddhist accounts to be silent about him.

Recently, Dr. Thapar has come forward with the suggestion that Jalauka and Kuṇāla, who have also been identified with Suyaśa and Dharma-vivardhana, are one and the same person.[2] She even goes to the length of suggesting that Kuṇāla in the Brāhmī script was transformed into Jalauka and this transformation was later on accepted in Kashmir without any doubts or questioning. This view, however, cannot be accepted for several obvious reasons. In the first place, Kuṇāla is associated not with Kashmir but with Taxila in Buddhist legends.[3] Secondly, if the suggestion is accepted, it will also have to be conceded that Kuṇāla, even after his blindness, could lead victorious marches into the heart of India so far as Kanauj, as stated by the Chronicler in the *Rajataraṅgiṇī*. Thirdly, Kuṇāla is stated to have had Buddhistic leanings, and if the tradition is to be believed, he was cured of his blindness by a Buddhist monk.[4] Jalauka, on the other hand, had nothing to do with Buddhism and was a staunch Śaiva. Fourthly, scholars are not inclined to treat Kuṇāla as the successor of Aśoka on the mere basis of Buddhist accounts; Raychaudhuri goes to the extent of likening his position to that of Dhṛitarāshṭra.[5] Equally untenable is her suggestion that Jalauka was a Kushāṇa king and not a son of Aśoka.[6] It is also strange that, though she offers the above suggestion, yet she credits Jalauka as having expelled the Mlechchhas. According to her, 'it would seem that the Mlechchhas referred to the Bactrian Greeks and other foreigners on the North-west.'[7] It goes against the very grain of history to consider Kushāṇas anterior to

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1. *R.T.*, I, i, 112-13.

2. Thapar, R., *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, p. 188 ff. Kuṇāla has also been identified with Tīvala of the Queen's Edict by Dr. B. M. Barua (*Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, p. 54) and he calls him Kuṇāla–Tīvala or Kuṇāla–Dharmavardhana (*ibid.*, p. 56).

3. Vide Barua, B. M., *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, p. 56, where he cites both *Divyāvadāna* and Fa-hien as his authorities for this assertion.

4. Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki.*, pp. 183-184.

5. Raychaudhuri, H. C., *P. H. A. I.*, p. 325.

6. Thapar, R., *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, p. 188 ff.

7. *Ibid.*

Bactrian-Greeks, as she suggests. Dr. Thapar's suggestion of the transformation of the characters of Brāhmī script from Kuṇāla to Jalauka is not only untenable but also beyond reason, for it is well known that the regions as far as Khotan had Kharoshṭhī and not Brāhmī as their script. Jalauka, as shall presently be seen, seems to have introduced the Mauryan principles of administration which were based on the *Arthaśāstra*, his 18 offices (*Karmasthānas*) obviously being the 18 *tīrthas* of the same.

It has already been pointed out that Jalauka had suppressed the Mlechchhas during the later part of his father's reign. It is noteworthy that the Chronicle mentions again Jalauka's victory over the Mlechchhas after his consecration. Verse 107 of the First Book of the Chronicle refers to the suppression of the revolt; the following verse (108) refers to his consecration and verse 116 of the same Book again refers to his victory over them.[1] Therefore, all these incidents are to be treated separately. As to the Mlechchhas who had rebelled earlier, it has been seen that the reference is overwhelmingly suggestive of the Bactrian-Greeks. Opinions, however, are divided about the identification of the Mlechchhas whom he conquered later on. Some scholars have tried to identify them with the Turanians, whereas others have taken them as Bactrian-Greeks.[2] The Buddhist account refers to Kuṇāla and his successors holding sway over Gandhāra and regions around it with its capital at Takshaśilā.[3] As such, it is possible that, taking advantage of his physical incapabilities, the Bactrian-Greeks tried to expand themselves, since the mighty Aśoka was no more. As for Turanians, it does not seem possible that they would have crossed into Kashmir without encountering the opposition of Greek pockets lying in the way and also of the later Mauryan forces before reaching the valley. It would, therefore, seem that Jalauka had to curb the activities of the Bactrian-Greeks who were trying to take advantage of the unsettled conditions after the demise of Aśoka.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, i, 107-16.

[2] Dutta, R. C., *A History of Ancient Indian Civilization*, p. 54; Bamzai, P. N. K., *History of Kashmir*, p. 65.

[3] Vide Barua, B. M., *Op. cit.* Raychaudhuri, however, has, on the authority of Tāranātha, pointed out that Vīrasena 'ruled in Gandhāra and was, as Dr. Thomas suggests, probably the predecessor of Subhāgasena of Polybius'—(*P. H. A. I.*, p. 350; cf., also Barua, *Op. cit.*, p. 61).

It should also be borne in mind that several princes seem to have been active on the north-west and many of them are stated to have belonged to the Mauryan lineage. Dr. Bagchi has pointed out that one of Aśoka's sons, Kustana by name, founded the city of Khotan in the extreme north-west of Kashmir.[1] If the legend of Kustana has any value, obviously Jalauka and Kustana (brothers) were both active on the north-west and beyond. Jalauka, by all accounts, was a devout Śaiva whereas Kustana was a staunch Buddhist. The career of Kustana in the Khotanese legend is reminiscent of that of Mahendra;[2] the former seems to have confined his activities in the north whereas Mahendra, along with Saṅghamitrā, carried the torch of Buddhism to Sri Lanka in the south. No political importance, therefore, can be attached to Kustana. After having routed the Mlechchhas at a place called Ujjhaṭaḍimba, Jalauka is said to have extended his sway as far as Kanauj.[3]

It appears that Jalauka took considerable pains to re-establish the fourfold Brāhmaṇical order in Kashmir, which was quite in keeping with his religious zeal.[4] This factor would also involve the natural assumption that the regions in proximity of the foreigners were more suited to the Buddhist idea of a casteless society. In this way, Jalauka could indirectly check the influx of foreigners much in the same way as renascent Hinduism did a few decades later in the time of the Śuṅgas. Brāhmaṇism was re-established in the valley and the social order came to be guided on its precepts.

Jalauka made radical changes in the administrative set-up of the valley and replaced its bureaucracy of seven main traditional state officials by eighteen *Karmasthānas* which, however, faithfully correspond to the 18 *tīrthas* of Kauṭilya.[5]

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[1] Bapat, P. V., *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 66.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Ujjhaṭaḍimba has not been properly identified though 'ḍemb' suggests a marshy tract of land, the nearest approach to this name, as suggested by Stein, would be Ujyārḍemba. See Stein's footnote on *R.T.*, I, i, 116.

[4] *R.T.*, I, i, 116-17.

[5] The eighteen *tīrthas* and the bureaucratic set-up is more on the lines of *Mahābhārata* and the poet himself gives the clue by the analogy of Yudhishṭhira. *R.T.*, I, i, 120, cf. Pandit's Note.

Jalauka married Īśānadevī, a lady whose lineage is, unfortunately, not disclosed and who is said to have established *Mātṛichakras* at the gates (*dvāras*) of Kashmir and also elsewhere in the valley.[1] The *Mātṛichakra*, equated with *Devīchakra* by Kalhaṇa, is obviously a tāntric practice to ward off evils. It seems that folk-cults, popular beliefs and superstitions were rife as ever even in those days all over the country. The king is also credited to have built two shrines, one of Jyeshṭha-Rudra at Srinagar and the other at Nandikshetra for Bhūteśa.[2] Kalhaṇa emphasises his devotion to Śaivism and his frequent visits to *Sodara*.[3] Also, he details the king's visit to Vijayeśvara and the legend of the sorceress.[4] The following can be made out from his somewhat detailed account. It appears that the king had, for certain reasons, become displeased with the Buddhists and ordered demolition of their *Vihāras*. Through the manifestation of that sorceress (*Kṛityā*), a change of heart was effected; no doubt the king (Jalauka) was reminded of his father's liberal attitude towards all religions. Thereafter the king built a *Vihāra*, Kṛityāśrama Vihāra, by name. This legend seems to have had some historical truth as Stein found at Kitshome the ruins of 'a rough quadrangular enclosure......' which contained a mound some 4 metres high, obviously 'the remains of a stūpa.'[5] The king is also stated to have established numerous *agrahāras* like Vārabāla, etc.[6]

Dāmodara II.

According to the Chronicle, Jalauka was succeeded by Dāmodara II. Kalhaṇa was not sure whether this king belonged to the imperial Mauryan house or some other noble family.[7] He has, at the very outset, stated that the account of Aśoka and of four other kings after him is based on the works of earlier authors.[8] He does not also state definitely that Dāmodara II was a son of Jalauka; all he says is that the former followed the latter. As apparent

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1. *R.T.*, I, i, 122.
2. *Ibid.*, I, i, 124.
3. *Ibid.*, I, i, 123.
4. *Ibid.*, I, i, 131-147.
5. *Ibid.*, I, i, Stein's note on 147.
6. *Ibid.*, I, i, 121 (for identification, see Stein's note).
7. *Ibid.*, I, i, 153.
8. *Ibid.*, I, i, 19-20.

from the account of Kalhaṇa, Dāmodara II, too, was a devout Śaiva like Jalauka and he also undertook certain constructions for providing irrigational facilities for his subjects.[1] (The supernatural element in building the long dam called *Guddasetu* is again introduced). The dam was intended to provide water for the newly founded city, Dāmodara-Sūda, by that king. Such activities, *e.g.*, construction of dams and dykes, were undertaken by him for protecting the people against the frequent floods that inundated large areas under cultivation at times when these were least desired.[2] But the king seems to have incurred the wrath of the Brāhmaṇas and perished.[3]

With the fading out of the imperial power from the scene, the vast area of the country which had formerly been under the suzerainty of the Mauryas was parcelled into innumerable petty states and this made the country an easy prey to foreign invaders. Situated as it was on the north and north-western frontiers, Kashmir, too, was one of the regions which had to bear the brunt of these attacks.[4] The Mlechchha clouds had been hovering over the borders of Kashmir even during the reign of Aśoka and, as noticed earlier, would naturally have found the situation more favourable for them now. These Mlechchhas, in all probability, were the Greek hordes who now made a determined effort to establish supremacy over the north-western regions and also Kashmir.

On the basis of numismatic evidence, Tarn is of opinion that, for a few years, Demetrius ruled over a portion of southern Kashmir.[5] Ptolemy also mentions two provinces of Menander's home-kingdom to the east of the Jhelum, of which 'Kaspeiria', the upper valleys of the Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi rivers, would roughly correspond to southern Kashmir.[6] Menander had discussions with Nāgasena, the Buddhist saint, at a place which was not more than 12 *yojanas* from Kashmir. This indicates that the Greek invaders had already overrun considerable areas of Kashmir, as is learnt from the *Milindapañho*.[7] Cunningham discovered a large horde of silver coins of Azes and Azilises on the banks of the river Jhelum in the hills between Baramula and the aforesaid river.[1] Ray and Bamzai are of opinion that these clearly confirm Indo-Greek rule over some portions of Kashmir.[2] Greek suzerainty over these areas can also be proved by the influence of Greeks over the indigenous artists.[3] However, due to paucity of evidential data, it is not possible to reconstruct the history of Kashmir during this period of Greek domination, but it can safely be suggested that, most probably, they continued to enjoy suzerain power over those regions for a period of some 200 years after the downfall of the Mauryas till the establishment of Kushāṇa suzerainty over north-western India.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, i, 156-57.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, i, 159.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, i, 163-66.

[4] Tarn, W.W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 155.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 238 (Ptolemy, VII, 42).

[7] *Milindapañho*, 82-83; cf. also Horner, I.B., *Milinda's Questions*, I, pp. 114-15.

Kushāṇas and Kashmir.[4]

The downfall of the Mauryas after Aśoka was followed by the domination of Greeks in these areas till the occupation of the valley by the Kushāṇas. Three rulers of the latter clan find mention in the Chronicle, though their account is treated as that of one ruler.[5] Kalhaṇa himself admits that his account from Aśoka to Abhimanyu is based on the lost excerpts of Chhavillākara and in that list he counts the three sovereigns as one.[6] It has been suggested by Raychaudhuri that Kanishka mentioned by the Chronicler was probably Kanishka II.[7] Since, according to him, a known date of Kanishka falls within the reign of Huvishka, the three rulers, namely Hushka (Huvishka), Jushka [Vāj(h)eshka] and Kanishka (Kanishka II) have been treated as joint rulers. His suggestion is substantiated by epigraphic evidence.[8]

Princep had earlier identified Kanishka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* with

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[1] Cunningham, A., *Coins of Indo-Scythians*, p. 44.

[2] Ray, S.C., *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 32; Bamzai, P.N.K., *History of Kashmir*, p. 67.

[3] Brown, P., *Indian Architecture*, p. 154-61; Goetz, H., *Journal of Bombay University*, XXI, pt. 2, p. 69 ff.

[4] The Kushāṇa rule in Kashmir has been more fully discussed in the *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U. P.* (*Saṅgrahālaya-Purātatva Patrikā*) (No. 3, June 1969, Kushāṇa Number).

[5] Raychaudhuri, H.C., *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 476-77.

[6] *R.T.*, I, i, 20.

[7] Raychaudhuri, H.C., *P.H.A.I.*, p. 465.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 465.

Kanishka 'famous in Buddhist tradition.'[1] Stein, by way of support, argued that the order in which their names are given cannot, therefore, be intended to indicate an order of succession.[2] But, as Raychaudhuri has pointed out, there is considerable overlapping in the reign-periods of these Kushāṇa kings.[3] It is noteworthy, as pointed out above, that Kalhaṇa treats them as one. As such, the reference in the Chronicle should be taken to allude to Kanishka II and not to Kanishka I, as is generally believed and, on the authority of Kalhaṇa, the founding of the city of Kanishkapura (Kaṁspur) should actually be attributed to Kanishka II and not to Kanishka I.[4] It is, however, conceded that Kalhaṇa refers to considerable artistic activity *e.g.*, building of the *vihāras* and *chaityas* during this period and this has tended to point the attention of scholars towards Kanishka I. But, since vigorous Buddhistic activities continued even during the times of all three rulers mentioned in the Chronicle, king Kanishka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* should be taken to refer to Kanishka II, and not Kanishka I, as suggested by Stein and others. Besides, it has not been accepted on all hands that the Fourth (or the Third) Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir at Kuṇḍalavana Vihāra.[5] Had it been held there, Kalhaṇa would certainly have not missed to mention a fact of such supreme importance in the Chronicle. As for Nāgārjuna, scholars are not unanimous about his date.[6] Raychaudhuri admits the possibility of Nāgārjuna's contemporaneity with Huvishka or Kanishka II.[7]

All the three Kushāṇa kings were champions of Buddhism and are associated with the construction of numerous *vihāras* and *stūpas*.[8] Huvishka

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[1] *R.T.*, I, i, 168 (Stein's note).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Raychaudhuri, H.C., *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 476-77.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] 'The place of the Assembly was, according to one authority, Jalandhar, and according to another, Kashmir'. (Bapat, P. V., *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 42).

[6] The contemporaries of Kanishka I, who took active part in the Buddhist Council were Ghosha, Pārśva, Aśvaghosha and Saṅgharaksha, etc. (Kimura, R., Centres of Buddhism in India, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. I, 1920, p. 26).

[7] Raychaudhuri, H.C., *P.H.A.I.*, p. 476, fn. 2.

[8] *R.T.*, I, i, 169-70.

(Hushka) built the city of Huvishkapura identified with Huskur or Uskur, three kilometres from Baramula on the Jhelum and Vāj(h)eshka (Jushka) founded a city by the name of Vāj(h)eshkapura or Jushkapura (modern Zukur) where remains of some ancient monuments were found by Cunningham.[1] The king also built a city by name of Jayasvāmipura and endowed it with a magnificent *Vihāra*.[2] The city has, however, not been correctly identified. Kanishka (Kanishka II) built the city of Kanishkapura (modern Kanispur). Thus, Kashmir seems to have been under the spell of Buddhism during the reign of Kushāṇas.[3]

A slight confusion has been created by Kalhaṇa, who states that Kanishka flourished one hundred and fifty years after the death of the Buddha.[4] This obvious miscalculation seems to have crept in because of some local traditions current, no doubt, in the country. This supposition gains strength from the fact that Hiuen Tsang, too, committed similar mistakes in the reckoning of events after *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. The Chinese pilgrim states that Aśoka flourished 100 years after the passing away of the Buddha and places Kanishka(I) 'some 100 years after the Great Master'.[5] It appears that the Chinese pilgrim, too, fell into the error on the basis of some local traditions current in the monastic establishments of the valley. The tradition underwent more corruption and led Kalhaṇa to bring that great Kushāṇa king further closer to the Tathāgata's decease. Keeping in view the suggestion—that Kanishka of the Chronicle was Kanishka II—the event would go further down by nearly 4 to 5 decades in chronology.

Reference has been made above to Nāgārjuna, the illustrious Buddhist scholar, who resided at Shaḍarhadvana (modern Harvan) in the neighbourhood of Srinagar.[6] This statement of Kalhaṇa is of considerable interest as, according to his (Nāgārjuna's) biography, that versatile genius was born either in South India or South Kośala and "received the *Mahāyā-*

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[1] *R.T.*, I, i, 168-69 (Stein's note); Cunningham, A., *A. G. I.*, p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, i, 169 fn.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, i, 171.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, i, 172.

[5] Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 190.

[6] *R.T.*, I, i, 173.

na-sūtra from a very old monk in the Himalayas."[1] This reference to the Himalayas should be taken to refer to his residence in Kashmir where he studied Mahāyāna Buddhism under some learned monk or monks. Following in the wake of Brāhmaṇical and literary renaissance under the Śuṅgas, Mahāyāna Buddhism, too, adopted Sanskrit for its literary compositions. This revivalist movement continued during the reign of local rulers and Abhimanyu, whose account is given below, was the first local chief (and last of the five kings whose accounts were borrowed by Kalhaṇa from Chhavillākara and others), who extended a like patronage to the study of Sanskrit.

Local Rule.

After the Kushāṇas, the valley of Kashmir once again came to be governed by a local ruler named Abhimanyu. This king was a great supporter of Śaivism and promoter of Sanskrit learning. Kalhaṇa refers to Chandrāchārya and others who popularised the study of *Mahābhāshya* in Kashmir during his reign.[2] He founded the city of Abhimanyupura which has been identified with modern village of Bimyun.[3] The overthrow of the Kushāṇas and the liberation of the valley under Abhimanyu probably took place towards the latter half of the second and the beginning of the third century A. D.

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[1] Bapat, P. V., *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 194. Incidentally, Nāgārjuna is stated to have been 'a friend and contemporary of the Sātavāhana king, Yajñaśrī Gautamīputra (166-196 A. D.,)' and would, therefore, have resided in the valley before 166 A. D., which would make him a contemporary of Huvishka or Kanishka II (*Ibid*).

[2] The verse (*R. T.*, I i, 176) has given rise to different interpretations on the basis of textual emendations. According to one view, the reading '*Labdhvādeśaṁ tasmāt*' should be taken to mean, on the whole, that the *Mahābhāshya* was made to be studied in the country, as Stein interpreted it. On the other hand, if the reading is taken to be '*Labdhvā deśāt tasmāt*', it may imply introduction of the study of *Mahābhāshya* from some country. These interpretations and their import are particularly significant to orientalists regarding the identification of Chandrāchārya with Chandragomin, the celebrated *Vijñānavādin* and author of the *Chāndravyākaraṇa*, who was a disciple of Sthiramati and flourished in the 7th century A. D. (Majumdar, R. C, *Classical Age*, pp. 387-88). As such, it is not possible to identify Chandrāchārya with Chandragomin of the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* fame.

[3] *R. T.*, I, i, 175 (Stein's note).

Abhimanyu was succeeded by Gonanda III, who was a very pious and religious-minded king.[1] Gonanda III was succeeded by Vibhīshaṇa I, Indrajit, Rāvaṇa and Vibhīshaṇa II, but nothing particular is known about them as they were very insignificant.[2] Vibhīshaṇa II was followed by Nara, who was also known as Kiṁnara, a slave of many vices. He built a city on the sandy banks of the Vitastā.[3] After Nara, the valley witnessed the reign of many kings like Siddha, Utpalāksha, Hiraṇyāksha, and Vasukula, who, like their predecessors, were non-descripts.[4]

Hūṇa Rule.

After a rule of about a dozen local kings, Kashmir came into the possession of King Mihirakula. According to Kalhaṇa, he was the son of Vasukula.[5] He has generally been identified with the Hūṇa king of that name who was defeated by Yaśodharman and, later, by Narasiṁha-gupta Bālāditya.[6] Mihirakula has been referred to by the Chinese ambassador, Sung-yun, as being engaged in a 'war with the country of Ki-pin (Kashmir)' as well as by Father Kosmas as king 'Gollas' in his *Christian Topography* and painted in all descriptions as a heartless tyrant of brutal disposition.[7] It was because of these characteristics that, according to the Chronicler, his approach to a town or city was preceded by vultures and carrion crows.[8] Once, while he was returning from his conquests in some hilly tracts, one of his elephants fell down a precipitous narrow passage. The cry of the falling animal so thrilled him that he ordered a hundred more to be rolled down in similar fashion. The place where this incident took place has been identified with Hastivañja on the Pir Panjal route and the barbarous act was remembered even as late as the time of Abul-Fazl.[9]

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1. *R.T.*, I, i, 185-86.
2. *Ibid.*, I, i, 191-96.
3. Probably it was named as Kiṁnarapura, or Narapura, located in the vicinity of Vijayeśvara, *ibid.*, I, i, 244, 274.
4. *Ibid.*, I, i, 276-88.
5. *Ibid.*, I, i, 289; Majumdar, R. C., *Classical Age*, pp. 37-38.
6. Basham, A. L., *The Wonder That Was India*, p. 67; *Classical Age*, p. 43 (cf. also fn. 1).
7. Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*, I, pp. XV, C.; *Classical Age*, p. 36.
8. *R.T.*, I, i, 291.
9. *Ibid.*, I, i, 302-16; *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Jarret), II, pp. 377-78. See also *R.T.*, I, i, 302 (Stein's note).

Obviously, the Brāhmaṇas of Kashmir looked down upon Mihirakula and, therefore, the king lavished his generosity by granting *agrahāras* to Brāhmaṇas of Gandhāra, who, too, were frowned down upon by the former.[1] According to the Chronicle, he was a Śaiva and built the temple of Mihireśvara at Srinagar and also founded the city of Mihirapura which has hitherto defied identification.[2]

Mihirakula is too well-known to Indian history both from indigenous and foreign literary sources and hardly merits detailed description here.[3] His antagonism to Buddhism is apparent from the very nature of his cruel disposition and deeds and the religion lost its hold on the people of the valley from his time. Kalhaṇa refers to his attempt to divert the waters of the Chandrakulyā river, perhaps to provide irrigation facilities or to divert its waters to his newly founded city.[4]

The account of the conquest of Simhala, Chola, Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa by Mihirakula is mere rhodomontade, fed by fanciful stories that had gathered around his person,[5] and is unacceptable to sober history. He, however, seems to have taken effective steps against the Khaśas, whose activities in the regions around the middle course of the Jhelum and Kishtwar had incurred his wrath.[6]

Mihirakula was succeeded by his son Baka.[7] As a meritorious son of a notorious father, he is said to have shown concern and sympathy towards the welfare of his subjects. He constructed the temple of Bakeśa, founded the city called Lavaṇotsa and caused the Bakavatī canal to be dug out—all in public interest.[8] Baka was followed by a string of seven kings according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, but none of them seems to have played any significant role during the period of their rule and, therefore, nothing worth mention is known about them. These were: Kshitinanda, Vasunanda, Nara II, Aksha, Gopāditya, Gokarṇa and Narendrāditya.[9] Gopāditya is said to

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1. *R.T.*, I, i, 307.
2. *Ibid.*, I, i, 306.
3. Thakur, Upendra, *Hūṇas in India*, pp. 132-85.
4. *R.T.*, I, i, 318.
5. *Ibid.*, I, i, 294-301.
6. *Ibid.*, I, i, 317.
7. *Ibid.*, I, p. 79; i, 325; II, viii, 3415.
8. *Ibid.*, I, i, 329.
9. *Ibid.*, I, i, 336-49.

have prohibited killing of animals, except for sacrificial purposes. Nothing specific is known about his achievements, though he is described in the Chronicle as the 'supreme guardian of the world'.[1] Narendrāditya was also known as Khiṅkhila, the founder of the shrine of Bhūteśvara. Cunningham attributes a unique silver coin with the legend *'Deva Śāhi Khiṅgila'* to Narendrāditya I, which is of ephthalite type.[2] According to him, two coins with the legend of '*Śrī Narendra*', which are of the 'Kidāra' type, seem to be of a later ruler.[3] Yudhishṭhira, son of Narendrāditya and also known as Andha-Yudhishṭhira, ruled wisely during the early period of his reign, but became a victim of his whimsical conduct subsequently.[4] He met a sad end and during the later days of his life, he is said to have wandered about as he had been dethroned and forced into exile by his enemies because of his cruel conduct.[5] Andha-Yudhishṭhira was followed by Pratāpāditya I and Jalaukas.[6] Tuñjīna succeeded Jalaukas. He built the shrine of Tuṅgeśvara and founded a city named Katikā.[7] The great poet Chandaka is said to have flourished during his reign.[8]

After the reign of Tuñjīna, another royal family came to power in Kashmir. The first king of this line was Vijaya, who founded the town of Vijayeśvara around the shrine dedicated to Vijayeśa.[9] He was succeeded by his illustrious and brave son, Jayendra.[10] The latter was assisted in administration by his able minister, Sandhimati, who was also a great saint.[11] After Jayendra, Sandhimati (or Sandhimat), by the order of his

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1. *R.T.*, I, i, 344 (*uttamo lokapālo' yamiti lakshma prasastishu*).
2. Cunningham, A., *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 97, 110.
3. Cunningham, A., *C M.I.*, pl. III, fig., 5.
4. *R.T.*, I, i, 352.
5. *Ibid.*, I, i, 353-73.
6. *Ibid.*, I, ii, 5, 9. According to the *R.T.*, Pratāpāditya I was related to Vikramāditya; who this Vikramāditya was is not clear, but he could be a ruler of Malwa, as Wilson thinks (*H.H.K.*, p. 29, note 65).
7. *Ibid.*, I, ii, 14. (identified with modern kai).
8. *Ibid.*, I, ii, 16. See Pandit's note. He identifies him with Chandragopin. Several verses of Chandaka are given in *Subhāshitāvalī*. Levi, however, identifies him with Chandra mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim.
9. *Ibid.*, I, ii, 62.
10. *Ibid.*, I, ii, 63.
11. *Ibid.*, I, ii, 65.

guru, ruled the valley.[1] He was a great devotee of Śiva and, therefore, Śaivism gained considerable ground in Kashmir during his reign.[2] His popularity seems to have declined during the latter part of his reign.[3] After Sandhimati's dethronement, Meghavāhana succeeded to the throne of Kashmir.[4] He is said to have been the son of Gopāditya of the family of Andha-Yudhishṭhira.[5] Due to political upheavals in their own homeland, the ancestors of Meghavāhana had fled to Gandhāra and, according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the latter was brought up in the court of the king of that country.[6] Meghavāhana had married Amṛitaprabhā, the daughter of the king of Prāgjyotishapura.[7] It appears that when Sandhimati was dethroned by the people of Kashmir on account of his excesses, they visited Meghavāhana and requested him to return to Kashmir and assume the reins of government.[8] Meghavāhana is said to have been a kind-hearted man as he prohibited slaughter of animals and compensated and rehabilitated the butchers by financial help and other means.[9] He built the city of Mayushṭagrāma, founded and donated the *agrahāra* of Meghavana to the Brāhmaṇas and constructed the Meghamaṭha.[10] His queen Amṛitaprabhā caused to be erected the great *Vihāra* of Amṛitabhavana for foreign *Bhikshus* [11] The king had a foreigner as his spiritual teacher who hailed from South Tibet (which is even today known as Loh or Leh) and built the magnificent *stūpa* known as ston-pā.[12] Kalhaṇa credits his reign for considerable building activities on the part of his numerous queens and also for his victories over many kings and territories as far as Sri Lanka, which is quite incredible, though he might have had *Bhikshus* from that country and this gesture was subsequently interpreted as conquest.[1] Meghavāhana was succeeded by his son Śreshṭhasena, also known both as Tuñjīna (II) and Pravarasena (I).[2] He constructed the famous shrine of Pravareśvara and donated the land of Trigarta for its maintenance. However, according to Bedia-ud-din, he 'established his mother on the vacant throne of Khota, and extended his own authority to Khotari, Chin and Machin.'[3] He was succeeded by his two sons, Hiraṇya and Toramāṇa, the former holding the higher status of a *Samrāṭ*, *i.e.*, king, and the latter being styled as *Yuvarāja*.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, ii, 116.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 123-40.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 143-44.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 151.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 144-47.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 144-45.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 147-50. According to Pandit, the name of the princess was Amṛitalekhā.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 2.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 5, 6.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 8.

[11] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 9.

[12] It has been suggested (on the authority of Rahula Sankrityayana) by Pandit (I, iii, 10 fn) that the word Ston-pā is the Tibetan equivalent of '*śāstā*' in Sanskrit. Pandit goes on to suggest that the queen (Amṛitalekhā), who hailed from Assam (as noted earlier), belonged to a royal family professing Buddhist faith (*ibid.*). See also *R.T.*, I, iii, 10 (Stein's note).

The name Toramāṇa strikes an echo and recalls to all minds the famous Hūṇa chief of that name who was the father of Mihirakula and whose coins have been found in large numbers in the Punjab and Kashmir. As pointed out by Stein, if he is taken to be identical with the said Hūṇa chief, it will have to be conceded that Kalhaṇa has made the silly mistake of placing the son several hundred years before the father.[5] On the other hand, if this Toramāṇa is taken to have been an altogether different ruler, 'the error of Kalhaṇa or his authorities would lie only in the attribution of the coins.'[6] It has been pointed out by Majumdar that 'the *Rājatarangiṇī* also refers to Toramāṇa, but he flourished long after Mihirakula, about eighteen kings intervening between the two. The career of this Toramāṇa hardly fits in with what we know of the Hūṇa chief of that name.........'[7] Besides, this Toramāṇa was only an 'heir-apparent' (*Yuvarāja*).[8]

Wilson is of opinion that Hiraṇya and Toramāṇa were acting respectively as 'Emperor and Caesar, a division of power of considerable antiquity amongst the Hindus, and one which, with them as well as with the Latin, Greek, or German princes, was often a source of public contention as it proved to be so in the instance before us.'[1] It appears that Toramāṇa became venturesome enough to issue coins (*dīnnīras*) in his own name; his elder brother took offence at this measure and put him behind the bars.[2] During his imprisonment, his wife Añjanādevī gave birth to a son, who was brought up in a potter's cottage, where she had sought shelter to conceal her indentity. The child was named Pravarasena after his grandfather.[3] Hiraṇya left no successor behind and, since the existence of his nephew was unknown to the people, the throne of Kashmir again lay vacant on the former's death.

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[1] *R. T.*, I, iii, 11-15, 27-72.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 97.
[3] Wilson, H.H., *H.H.K.*, p. 34.
[4] *R.T.*, I, iii, 102.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 103 fn.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Majumdar, R. C., *Classical Age*, p. 35.
[8] *R. T.*, I, iii, 102; cf. also Pandit.

It is likely that Kashmir was without a king for a short period during which it was very probably ruled by ministers but, later on, Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain appointed a Brāhmaṇa named Mātṛigupta as its king.[4] The reference to a king Harsha with the *āditya* title of '*Vikrama*' is quite interesting and its import has hitherto not been emphasized by scholars. Following Bhau Daji, Stein concluded that Kalhaṇa's 'Vikramāditya-Harṣa was in reality the same as the Vikramāditya who is mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang as the predecessor of Śīlāditya.'[5] This, however, does not synchronise with the known dates of rulers both in Kashmir as well as Mālava. Since, according to Kalhaṇa, these incidents took place *after* Mihirakula but *before* the rise of the Pushpabhūtis in full glory, one has to look for a king named Harsha in the first half of the 6th century A. D. Now the Aphsad inscription[6] furnishes a list of later Guptas amongst

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1. Wilson, H. H., *H. H. K.*, p. 34.
2. *R.T.*, I, iii, 103-104.:

The text of the verse being uncertain, Stein did not favour the idea of restoring it to indicate a type of coin known as *bālāhata* (fn. on 103). Pandit, however, seems to favour the emendation '*bhrātāhatānīm*' as his translation of the verse in question would suggest (..... 'coins struck by the brother......'). Pt. Ram Tej Shastri favours the reading *bālāhatānām* in the text but translates it to mean a coin known as *bīlāhata*—a suggestion discarded by Stein (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Pandit Pustakalaya ed., p. 45, text and trans.).

3. *R.T.*, I, iii, 105-109.
4. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 125-250.
5. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 125, fn.
6. *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 200-08.

whom Mahāsenagupta is definitely known to have ruled from Mālava. The genealogy as deduced from the said inscription makes Harshagupta a ruler of note, whose sister, Harshaguptā, was married to Ādityavarman of the Maukhari house.[1] Harshagupta, along with others of his dynasty, has been eulogised for his 'military achievements' and his son, Jīvitangupta 'is said to have carried his arms to the Himalaya mountains......'.[2] He is definitely known to have flourished in the first half of the sixth century A. D.[3] It is quite possible that Harshagupta was the ruler who, like other Gupta rulers, had adopted the *āditya* title of *Vikrama* and appointed Mātṛigupta the ruler of Kashmir after his son had achieved some success in the Himalayan regions during his (Harshagupta's) lifetime. This assumption is supported by the Aphsad incription.[4]

Mātṛigupta prohibited animal-slaughter and introduced a new type of gold coin known as *Karambhaka*.[5] The reign of Mātṛigupta seems to have been of a short duration. According to Kalhaṇa, he extended his patronage to the great poet, Bharttṛimeṇṭha (also called Meṇṭha), who was the author of the *Hayagrīvavadha*.[6] On the death of his powerful protector (Harsha Vikramāditya), Mātṛigupta seems to have found his position weak. At the same time, he also heard that Pravarasena II, son of Toramāṇa, was coming to Kashmir with a loyal band of friends.[7] According to Kalhaṇa, Pravarasena (II) encountered him unexpectedly while on a journey and Mātṛigupta extended a warm welcome to him, entrusted him with the reins of the government and retired to Varanasi ot spend the rest of his days there as a mendicant.

Pravarasena II seems to have looked after Mātṛigupta well, as is apparent from the fact that while the latter was spending his days at Varanasi, the former is stated to have fulfilled his promise (regarding financial aid) to him.[8] Even before assuming royal powers, Pravarasena is said to have conquered the land of Trigarta.[1] He is also stated to have conquered many territories including the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley and Saurāshṭra. It appears that Pravarasena went to the assistance of Pratāpaśīla, alias Śīlāditya, son of Vikramāditya, who (Pratāpaśīla) had been dethroned and lost possession of Saurāshṭra.[2] After completion of this task, he brought back to Kashmir the throne of his family which had been carried away from there by Vikramāditya of Ujjain.[3] He is also credited to have defeated king Mummuni who has not been identified correctly so far.[4]

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[1] Chattopadhyaya, S., *Early History of North India*, pp. 261-62, 265.

[2] Majumdar, R. C., *Classical Age*, p. 72.

[3] Sinha, B. P, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 159.

[4] *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 200-08.

[5] *R.T.*, I, iii, 266.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 260 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 281-320.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 321.

Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son Yudhishṭhira (born of his queen Ratnaprabhā) after his death and the latter was assisted by his able ministers, Sarvaratha, Jaya and Skandagupta, in administration. They built many *vihāras*, *chaityas* and other religious buildings, some of which have been identified by Stein.[5] He was succeeded by his son, Narendrāditya, born of queen Padmāvatī, and was also known as Laḥkhaṇa.[6] He is said to have built a temple which was dedicated to Narendrasvāmin and made certain administrative innovations like the establishment of a department for keeping official records.[7]

Narendrāditya was succeeded by his younger brother Raṇāditya, also known as Tuñjīna.[8] According to Kalhaṇa, he married the Chola princess Raṇārambhā, daughter of king Ratisena.[9] He was a Śaiva, had pro-

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1. *R.T.*, I, iii, 285.
2. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 330 (Stein's note). Śīlāditya Pratāpaśīla can be identified with Śīlāditya (of Malwa), whom Hiuen Tsang (*Si-Yu-Ki*, II, p. 26) mentions as having flourished 60 years before his time and, apparently, indicates that he was the successor of Vikramāditya.
3. *R.T.*, I, iii, 331; Wilson, H. H., *H. H. K.*, p. 36, note 86.
4. He defeated Mummuni seven times (*R.T.*, I, iii, 332-335, Stein's note). About the identification of Mummuni, no definite conclusion has yet been drawn, but Stein is of the opinion that it could have been the title of the king of some place.
5. *R.T.*, I, iii, 379-380 (Stein's fn. on I, iii, 380).
6. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 383.
7. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 389.
8. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 386.
9. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 432-436; Wilson, H. H., *H. H. K.*, p. 37, note 9. According to Wilson, South Indian traditions frequently refer to such marriages. A certain Śaśi-Śekhara and also Rājādhirāja Chola are said to have married Kashmiri princesses (*ibid.*).

nounced leanings towards the Pāśupata sect also, founded two Śiva temples after himself and his wife and installed two Śiva-liṅgas therein.[1] Kalhaṇa is eloquent of his religious catholicity, for he also caused a temple of Mārtaṇḍa to be built in the village of Siṁharotsikā.[2] Queen Raṇārambhā is also stated to have made handsome donations for the maintenance of a Vishṇu image said to have come out of the earth.[3] Besides these, both (the king and the queen) are said to have built many temples and monasteries. Another queen of his, named Amṛitaprabhā, founded the shrine of Amṛiteśvara.[4] Due to his noble character, religious zeal and numerous acts of public welfare, Kalhaṇa compares him with Rāma of the Raghu family.[5] Raṇāditya is said to have ruled for 300 years which, of course, is mere exaggeration.[6] Scholars hold different opinions about this attribution of the reign of such a long duration. Wilson thought that 'either by necessity for filling up some dark chasm in the annals of Kashmir or to compensate for an error in the dates of preceding monarch,'[7] the poet took this step. Triveda holds that this duration of 300 years is to be attributed to some yogic powers and further states that many scholars 'have supposed the existence of a republic during the intervening period.'[8] Majumdar is of the view that 'such an extraordinary regnal period of a king indubitably indicates the loss of true history of the period.'[9]

Raṇāditya was succeeded by his son named Vikramāditya. Nothing particular is known about the political events of his reign.[10] He was succeeded by his younger brother Bālāditya.[11] Since the Gonanda dynasty came to an end with him, it may be presumed that he was probably a weak ruler and is, therefore, not credited with any political achievements of note.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iii, 439 ff.; 460.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 462.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 443 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 463.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 472-73.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 470.
[7] Wilson, H. H., *H. H. K.*, p. 37.
[8] Triveda, D. S., *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1938, p. 59 note 65.
[9] Majumdar, R. C., *Classical Age*, p. 132.
[10] *R.T.*, I, iii, 474-476.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 477 ff.

He had only one issue, a daughter, Anaṅgalekhā, whom he had married to Durlabhavardhana, an officer of the state, and gave the latter the title '*Prajñāditya*', presumably because of his intellectual attainments.[1] The daughter, however, developed intimacy with one of the ministers of her father (named Khaṅkha) and neglected her husband.[2] Durlabhavardhana soon came to know of it, but forgave both of them.[3] Khaṅkha, too, repaid him by placing the former on the throne of Kashmir despite opposition from other ministers.[4]

Thus, it may be stated that, during the remote 'historical' period beginning with the reign of Aśoka the Great and till the rise of the imperial Kārkoṭas, the Kashmir valley was ruled by some glorious kings including a few foreigners. While on the one hand the valley experienced the splendid rule of such noble kings as Aśoka, Kanishka, Pravarasena, Meghavāhana and Raṇāditya (the Rāma of the Gonandīya dynasty), it also witnessed the barbarous rule of tyrants like Nara, Mihirakula, etc., on the other.

The period reviewed above is marked by notable activities in many fields—religious, social and administrative. During the earlier period, Buddhism seems to have held sway and several Buddhist monasteries, stūpas and shrines came into existence. Literary activity is attested to by such authors, thinkers and poets as Nāgārjuna, Chandra, Chandaka, Meṇṭha and others already noticed. Subsequently, Śaivism found royal favour and patronage with the result that numerous Śaiva temples came into existence there. A popular practice of founding cities by rulers, generally after their names, seems to have been prevalent during the period under review and many of these have been identified. Alongside, the kings embellished their capitals and such cities with numerous buildings of public utility. Kalhaṇa speaks of several dams on, and diversions to, the courses of streams and rivers which, no doubt, were undertaken to provide irrigational facilities to the people of the valley. Another popular custom seems to have been that of granting *agrahāras* to Brāhmaṇas by kings. Lastly, no less important is the visit of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, who travelled through these regions, studied there for about two years and noted its scenic beauty, its association with Buddhism and its buldings and monuments, many of which can be viewed even today in their extensive ruins.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iii, 484-489, 494.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 495.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 522.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 528.

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[1] Beal, S., *Si-Yu-Ki*. I, pp. 166-200; Watters, I, pp. 258-283.

3

THE KĀRKOṬAS

The rise of the Kārkoṭas to power in the valley of Kashmir and the subsequent history of that part of the country is significant for many reasons. While the rest of the huge sub-continent witnessed the rise and fall of several Rajput clans like the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, Chandellas, Pālas, Kalachuris, Chālukyas, Chāhamānas and Gāhaḍavālas, the valley was under the suzerain sway of their synchronous Kārkoṭas for several centuries. Secondly, there is no dearth of evidential data for a reconstruction of the political history of that part of the country for the period. Thirdly, and by far the most significantly, the downfall of Hindu India coincided with the eclipse of the Kārkoṭas—the later rulers of which dynasty were unable to withstand the Turkish onslaught against odds that shall be subsequently seen.

The primary source of our information for the history of the Kārkoṭas is the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* itself. Kalhaṇa is obviously on surer grounds in detailing the events of several centuries—exaggerations and embellishments being excusable on poetic grounds. His account, when substantiated by other sources, *viz.* the epigraphic, numismatic and other literary compositions as well as foreign accounts (of the Chinese and Arabs), enables one to reconstruct the history of several centuries during which the Kārkoṭas reigned supreme in the valley.

The name Kārkoṭa

Prior to any attempted historical account of the dynasty, the connotation 'Kārkoṭa' appended to it deserves some attention. It is interesting to note that the word 'Karkoṭa' occurs in the *Ṛigveda* itself and if Vogel's suggestion is accepted, it finds mention in the *Atharvaveda* also as Śarkoṭa.[1]

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[1] *Ṛigveda, Khailikāni Sūkta*, p. 530 (14, 8); *Atharvaveda*, vii, 56, 5 and 7; Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent-Lore*, p. 214.

It should, however, be noted that even during the *Ṛigvedic* period, the legend of the Karkoṭa Nāga was very well known, though terminologically the word can be explained away as referring to a number of plants as well.[1] There are several references to Karkoṭa in the *Mahābhārata* wherein it has been used to denote a non-Aryan tribe, and a Nāga of that name (Karkoṭa) at many places in several *parvas*.[2] It is interesting to note that many of the Purāṇas and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* mention a Nāga of that name in different contexts.[3] The *Matsya Purāṇa*, for example, mentions a *tīrtha* of that name on the banks of the Narmadā river.[4] The *Kathāsaritsāgara* refers to a city of that name while the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* lists Kārkoṭa Nāga of Kashmir with other outstanding Nāgas (Nīla, Vāsuki and Takshaka).[5] Again, a Karkoṭa Nāga is associated with a legend concerning dessication of a lake in Nepal, where it is worshipped even today.[6] All these legendary (and literary) references unimpeachably establish some connection of the Kārkoṭa dynasty with the Nāgas and possibly, with Nāga worshippers inhabiting the valley in distant past. Incidentally, the entire *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is full of references to Nāgas and their supernatural powers who, from time to time, had been munificent when pleased and caused harm when annoyed. That Kārkoṭa Nāga commanded an eminent place amongst the Nāga worshippers all over Northern India is apparent from the fact that a shrine dedicated to him at Barha Katra in Banda (U.P.) exists even to this day.[7]

These early notices, it should also be noted, refer to Nāga Karkoṭa and not Kārkoṭa, and this peculiarity has not received sufficient attention from scholars. Grammatically, it is possible to suggest that, according to the latter form (*i.e.*, Kārkoṭa), some descendant of Karkoṭa is meant, and not the Ṛigvedic serpent. Very possibly, the valley developed a legend of its own around the name of a descendant of Karkoṭa and not the Vedic serpent itself. On the strength of these literary notices, it is apparent that, with the growth of legends around the Nāga Karkoṭa, the name had achieved considerable importance and was associated with the dynasty in the valley.

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[1] Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent-Lore*, p. 214.

[2] *Mahābhārata*, I, 35, 1550; I, 123, 4828; II, 9, 316; III, 66, 2611; III, 72, 2828; III, 79, 3072; VIII, 44, 2066; XVI, 4, 119; cf. Sorensen, S., *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, p. 384.

[3] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, xii, II, 42; *Matsya*, 6, 18, 29, 33, 39, etc. *Vāyu*, 17, 26, 52, 69, 70, 94; *Vishṇu*, I, 221; 22; II, 14. 22; *Brahmāṇḍa* II, 17, 23; III, 7, 34; IV, 20, 33, 36, 50; Tawney, C.H., *Ocean of Stories*, Vol. II, pp. 67, 73, 78; IV, pp. 245,-50.

[4] *Matsya Purāṇa*, 36, 196.

[5] Tawney, C.H., *Ocean of Stories*, II, pp. 67, 73, 78. Further, dealing with the story of Nala, Kārkoṭa Nāga has been mentioned (IV, pp. 45-46, 48, 50); *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, 901; *R.T.*, I, iii, 490 (Stein's note).

[6] Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent-Lore*, p. 215.

[7] *Ibid.*

Origin and the First Kārkoṭa Ruler.

According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Durlabhavardhana, son of Kārkoṭa Nāga, was the first ruler of the dynasty and succeeded Bālāditya, the last ruler of the Gonanda family.[1] His descent from the legendary Nāga (Kārkoṭa) is yet another instance of supplying a haloed pedigree to one whose antecedents were shady or obscure and who came of a humble stock.[2] The origins of the Pālas, Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Chandellas are similarly garbled into incoherence and legends have been woven around their ancestors so as to enhance the prestige of those families in popular esteem.[3] As such, Kalhaṇa can hardly be blamed for this. According to Ray, Durlabhavardhana was 'a man of lowly origin, took service under king Bālāditya, married his daughter and, after the king's death, succeeded him.'[4] It has been expressly stated by Kalhaṇa that he did not come of a royal family and was comely in looks; hence his humble origin may be taken as a fact.[5] The legend of his mother cohabiting with a Kārkoṭa Nāga and taking her 'purifying bath' might also offer an inkling of his native place.[6]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iii, 490, 530; iv, 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 490.

[3] Sinha, B.P., *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 324-25; Majumdar, R.C, *Classical Age*, p. 65; Bose, N.S., *History of the Candellas*, pp. 1-2, (1956).

[4] Ray, S.C., *Early History & Culture of Kashmir*, p. 38.

[5] *R.T.*, I, iii, 488-89.

[6] *R.T.*, I, iii, 490. A somewhat similar story is related in the *Parmāl Rāso* about the origin of the Chandellas and the mother of the first ruler sought purification through the performance of *Bhāṇḍa-yajña*. Cf. Mitra, Ṣ.K., *Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, pp. 23, 25, 171.

The Nāga had his abode in some small lake on the Toshmaidan (Tosmaidan) route to Lohara.[1] Evidently, the mother of Durlabhavardhana, a native of the same locality, had gone to bathe in some lake, presumably the same, as the legend has it. It is, however, not specifically stated whether she was married; had she been so, Durlabhavardhana's father would also have been mentioned in the Chronicle along with his caste.

According to Vaidya, Durlabhavardhana, belonged to the Vaiśya caste and was not a Kāyastha.[2] In his opinion, 'Vardhana'—the latter part of Durlabhavardhana's name, indicates his Vaiśya lineage. It should, however, be noted that the Vardhanas of the illustrious Sthāneśvara house are stated in the *Harshacharita* to have been Kshatriyas, though Hiuen Tsang calls Harsha a Vaiśya Rajput.[3] The term *Aśvaghāsakāyastha* is clearly indicative of the office held by Durlabhavardhana and does not, in any way, determine his caste.[4]

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1. *R.T.*, I, iii, 490, Stein's note; II, viii, 1596, 1997.
2. Vaidya, C. V., *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, I, p. 203.
3. Beal, S., *Life*, p. 83.
4. The word Kāyastha has been frequently used in ancient Indian inscriptions and, in almost each context, denotes an official or an office. According to the *Vishṇudharmasūtra* (vii, 3), the term Kāyastha denotes only an office.

'A public document (*Rājasākṣika lekhya*) is a document written in the royal court or office by a *Kāyastha* appointed by the king and attested by the hand of the superintendent of that office' (*op. cit.*).

According to Yājñavalkya 'the king should protect the subjects from the harassment of *Cāṭas* (rogues), thieves, bad characters, desperadoes and the like and particularly of Kāyasthas' (*Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, I, 332).

The *Mitāksharā* styles the Kāyasthas as accountants and scribes. They were favourites of kings and noted for their craftiness. Aparārka defines Kāyasthas as officials who were in charge of collecting taxes. Yājñavalkya and his early commentators do not use the term 'Kāyastha' as denoting a caste but as an administrative officer. Bṛihaspati considers *Lekhaka* as only an official. Cf. Kane, P. V., 'A Note on the Kāyasthas', *New Indian Antiquary*, I, pp. 741-43.

In inscriptions also, the term was used to refer to a Kāyastha as an officer and not as a caste. The earliest epigraph which mentions this term is the famous Damodarpur copper-plate inscription of Kumāragupta I dated in Gupta era 125—A. D. 444-45. The term '*prathamakāyastha*' used in the epigraph clearly refers to the chief Kāyastha who, in all probability, was, It can, therefore, be safely concluded that Durlabhavardhana was not a Kāyastha by caste, but was an officer of the state. It is quite likely that he belonged to the Nāga clan and was a petty local chief. Vaidya suggested the same possibility and maintained that the Kāyasthas, who were formerly officials, later on formed a caste.[1] Bālāditya, the last king of the Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir, would otherwise have not married his daughter Anaṅgalekhā to him and degraded his social standing in the eyes of his subjects. This, however, seems natural, as chances of Durlabhavar-

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in the present terminology, a class I officer. Incidentally, this implies that bureaucracy in Gupta times was categorized for purposes of administrative efficiency (Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 284-86). The word 'Kāyastha' used in many subsequent inscriptions also indicates an office or an officer and not a caste (Sivagana Inscription of M. E. 295-738-39 A. D., (*I. A.*, XIX, pp. 56-59).

Taking the above into consideration it may be suggested that, in ancient times, the word Kāyastha did not denote any particular caste but a specific post or an officer, and the same was the case in Kashmir. As shall be apparent from the subsequent narrative, for quite an appreciable length of time, the kings of Kashmir had to depend upon their Kāyastha officers to a very great measure (*R.T.*, I, iv, 90, 621, 629; V, 429; vii, 149, 1429; see also I, p. 19, Introduction). Kalhaṇa has mentioned Kāyasthas as great oppressors, and a particular caste cannot oppress and exploit the public; only officers could get state-support and resort to oppressive activities. On the other hand, a particular caste did not enjoy opportunities for the same in the social scheme of ancient times. Moreover, people from every caste were entrusted with this office. Kalhaṇa mentions a Brāhmaṇa designated as such (*R.T.*, II, viii, 2383). Stein is of opinion that the great mass of this class (*viz.*, Kāyastha) was undoubtedly Brāhmaṇa by caste, corresponding to the present day *Kārkuns* of Kashmir and cites Kalhaṇa himself in support of his view (*R.T.*, I, vii, 1105, 1319; II, viii, 2383). Later on, by the 10th century A. D., the office seems to have gradually become hereditary, forming a separate caste, much in the same way as occupational castes had grown and multiplied several centuries earlier. According to Kane, '......it would be more in accordance with the evidence to say that a Kāyastha was originally an official entrusted with the state of a public writing work, ..the office was held sometimes at least even by Brāhmaṇas and in some territories it might have been held by a separate caste' (Kane, P. V., *N. I. A.*, 1939, I, p. 743).

[1] Vaidya, C. V., *H. M. H. I.*, I, pp. 203, 217.

dhana himself being of the Nāga clan are more probable than that of his being a Kshatriya.

The date of the accession of Durlabhavardhana, accepted by many scholars, is 625 A. D.[1] He must have been a ruler of consequence, for his sway extended over a very vast region. During his reign Hiuen Tsang visited the valley and mentions that Ta-cha-shi-lo (Takshaśilā), Seng-ha-pu-lo (Siṁhapura), Wu-la-shih (Uraśā), Pan-nu-ts'o (Punch) and Ho-lo-she-pu-lo (Rājapurī) were included in his dominions.[2] Thus, the frontiers of the Kashmir kingdom which, in the time of Bālāditya (the last king of the Gonanda dynasty) had been limited to the valley itself, extended far beyond up to some portions of the modern district of Rawalpindi in Pakistan.[3] Though neither *Rājataraṅgiṇī* nor any other sources provide any direct hint about the wide conquests of Durlabhavardhana, yet inclusion of the above mentioned places in his domain, as stated by the Chinese pilgrim, leads to the conclusion that these territories were conquered by him. The conquest of these regions must have taken place some time between 625 A. D., the date of his accession, and 631 A. D., the date of the arrival of the pilgrim, who includes these places and regions within his kingdom. The Chinese *Annals* mention a king named Tu-lo-pa who controlled the route from China to Kabul during 627-649 A. D. and held the charge of ensuring safe arrival of the Chinese envoy from Kipin to Kashmir.[4] Cunningham opines : 'As Kashmir lay in route to Ki-pin, I conclude that Tu-lo-pa must be Durlabhavardhana.'[5] In the opinion of another scholar 'assuming the identification of Tu-lo-pa with Durlabha to be correct, it still remains doubtful whether this ruler or his son, Durlabhaka (or Durlabha) is meant here.'[6] Extension of Durlabhavardhana's territories beyond the valley would have not been possible without fierce fighting, as the neighbouring territories of Kashmir were occupied by tough and hardy people. Coins bearing the legend 'Durlabha' have also come to light and some scholars attribute these to Durlabhavardhana, the founder of the Kārkoṭa dynasty.[1]

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[1] Stein, *R.T.*, I, Intr., p. 136; Ray, S. C., *E. H. C. K.*, p. 38; Bamzai, P. N. K., *H. K.*, p. 109; Mukerji, U. N., *Uttara-Bharati*, 1958, p. 36. But a few of the scholars do not accept this view and give their own opinions such as Wilson, H. H., *H. H. K.*, p. 76 ff ; Bühler, *Report*, p. 117; *Wilson*, *H. H. K.*, p. 117.

[2] Watters, *Travels*, pp. 240, 248, 256. 259, 283, 284, 244.

[3] Majumdar, R. C , *Classical Age*, p. 132.

[4] Remusat, A., *Nouv. Melanges Asiat.*, (*E. H. C. K.*, p. 38), I, p. 212 (quoted by Dr. S. C. Ray).

[5] Cunningham, A., *C. M. I.*, pp. 38-39.

[6] Srivastava, B. N., *Thesis*, p. 346.

Durlabhavardhana and Harshavardhana.

Durlabhavardhana was a contemporary of the mighty Harshavardhana of Kanauj and from an anecdote recorded by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, it is learnt that the latter had come in contact with the former.[2] The pilgrim states that Harsha, a great patron of Buddhism, took away by force the sacred 'tooth-relic' of the Lord Buddha which was in possession of the king of Kashmir.[3] Incidentally, the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa refers to a place which was 'an inaccessible land of snowy mountains' wherefrom Harsha received tributes.[4] In the opinion of Ray, a verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* itself suggests that Kashmir did acknowledge the suzerainty of Kanauj.[5] The reference of Bāṇa may, however, be taken to refer to Nepal as well, as Dr. Tripathi points out.[6] Nepal, as he has surmised after a lengthy discussion, did not form part of Harsha's dominion and was out of 'the sphere of the suzerainty of Kanauj'.[7] As such, it may be concluded that the reference of Bāṇa alludes to Kashmir and not to Nepal. The way in which the 'tooth relic' was taken away from the Valley 'leaves no room for doubt that its ruler did acknowledge the political supremacy of Harshavardhana...'[8] Further, both Harshavardhana and Durlabhavardhana were Buddhists and the king of Sthāneśvara was well known for his efforts towards the propagation of Buddhism; as such, Durlabhavardhana might have parted with the relic partly as a gesture of goodwill and partly out of fear, as is indirectly hinted at by the pilgrim.[9] It is more likely that the ruler of Kashmir had to acknowledge the indirect supremacy of Harshavardhana, the most powerful ruler of Northern India of his time, though it was only nominal. Mookerji and Vaidya are of opinion that the reference in the '*Harshacharita*' to 'an inaccessible land of snowy mountains' from which the king used to take tribute refers to no other country than Kashmir.[1] According to Vaidya, the king of that country 'was made to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of Harsha and also compelled to pay tribute, as mentioned by Bāṇa'.[2] According to Ray, one cannot deny the fact that 'Kashmir had to bear, at least for once, the brunt of Harsha's invading army.'[3] Later, he quotes a verse from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to suggest that it alludes to Harsha's rule over the valley of Kashmir.[4] According to him, 'it is not, therefore, improbable that Kashmir for once at least bent her knees before the great king of Mid-India.'[5] But the above contention cannot be upheld in view of the known chronological dates. Harsha's reign is accepted on all hands to have covered the period of *c.* 606-647 A. D. and the verse quoted by Ray from *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, in the context it is used, refers to some one else, though a namesake of Harsha, who flourished earlier than that Kanauj monarch.[6] Durlabhavardhana came to the throne in *c.* 625 A. D. and, according to the Chronicle, ruled for 36 years.[7] Consequently, his rule would have ended some time in 661 A. D. Northern India fell into anarchy and confusion immediately after the death of Harsha in *c.* 647 A. D. Quite naturally, even the nominal show of allegiance to the ruler of Kanauj must have been shaken off by Durlabhavardhana, assuming that he had done so during the life-time of Harsha.

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[1] Cunningham, A., *C. M. I.*, p. 43.

[2] Beal, S., *Life*, p. 183; Chattopadhyaya, S., *E. H. N. I.*, p. 253.

[3] Beal, S., *Life*, pp. 181-83; Watters, *Travels*, I, p. 279.

[4] *Harshacharita*, (Cowell, E. B.), p. 100.

[5] Ray, N. R., *Indian Historical Quarterly*, III, 1927, p. 780.

[6] Tripathi, R. S., *History of Kanauj*. p. 94.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[8] Srivastava, B. N., *Thesis*, p. 346.

[9] *Ibid.*

According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Durlabhavardhana had granted Chandragrāma, near the castle of Pāreviśoka, to the Brāhmaṇas to express his esteem and regard for them.[8] He was a man of high character, a capable ruler and possessed of practical wisdom, as is clearly revealed by the way in which he handled the activities of his queen, referred to above and as stated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[1] He also constructed the temple of Vishṇu Durlabhasvāmin at Srinagar.

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[1] *Harshacharita*, (Cowell, E. B.), p. 100; Mookerji, R. K., *Harsha*, pp. 39-40; Vaidya, C. V., *H. M. H. I.*, I, p. 17.

[2] Vaidya, C. V., *H. M. H. I.*, I, p. 17.

[3] Ray, N. R., *I. H. Q.*, III, 1927, p. 780.

[4] *Ibid.*; *R. T.*, I, ii, 7.

[5] Ray, N. R., *I. H. Q.*, III, 1927, p. 780.

[6] *R. T.*, I, ii, 7 (Stein's note).

[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv. 6.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 5 (Stein's note).

Durlabhaka.

The great Kārkoṭa empire, founded by Durlabhavardhana, was consolidated by his able son and successor, Durlabhaka, or younger Durlabha.[2] He was born of Queen Anaṅgalekhā, the daughter of Bālāditya. It should be noted that Durlabhavardhana had succeeded to the possessions of Bālāditya as the husband of Anaṅgalekhā and, as such, the Queen had naturally a say in the selection of her son as the successor to Durlabhavardhana. It was quite natural for Durlabhaka to assume an *āditya* title in the fashion of his maternal grandfather (Bālāditya) and, in consequence, he adopted the title of *Pratāpāditya*.[3] Copper coins bearing the legend '*Śrī Pratāpa*' have been found in the ruins of Aunjhar fortress in the Mau tehsil of Banda district and are generally attributed to him by scholars.[4]

According to an episode related by Kalhaṇa, Durlabhaka married Narendraprabhā, the beautiful wife of Noṇa, a merchant of Rauhitaka country, who had settled in the valley.[5] Narendraprabhā gave birth to three sons, namely, Chandrāpīḍa, Tārāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa, who are better known to history by their *āditya* titles.[6]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iii, 497.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 7; Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, pp. 206-07.

[3] As Bālāditya had died without a male issue, the rites decreed for observance by a son as also the inheritance naturally devolved on his daughter's son (*Manusmṛiti*, IX, 131; *R.T.*, I, iv, 8, 78, Stein's note on the last).

[4] Agrawala, V.S., *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. X, pt. I, p. 31.

[5] *R.T.*, I, iv, 11-37. Two possible identifications have been suggested by Stein for Rauhitaka (I, iv, 11, fn.). It might refer to Rohitaka of Alberuni (*India.*, I, p. 308, 316), a fort in Multan. Bühler suggested its identification with Rohtak, a town and district in Haryana. Since there is a clear reference to the land of Rauhitaka (Rauhita deśa) in the following verse (I, iv, 12), the fort is obviously not referred to. As such the suggestion of Bühler seems to be more probable.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 26-30.

Durlabhaka possessed many outstanding qualities. He founded the city of Pratāpapura and constructed a Noṇamaṭha (after the name of Noṇa) for the comforts of the Brāhmaṇas of Rauhitadeśa, probably as a gesture of goodwill towards Noṇa who belonged to that land.[1] He enjoyed a long and peaceful reign of about 50 years (*c.* 661-711 or 713 A.D.) during which period he consolidated the empire and ruled wisely.[2]

Chandrāpīḍa-Vajrāditya.

Durlabhaka was succeeded by his eldest son, Chandrāpīḍa. The latter seems to have assumed sovereignty at an advanced age, as his father had a very long rule. Kalhaṇa mentions him as the 'crest-jewel among the kings' which indicates that he was a man of noble character and high administrative skill.[3] His love of the people is reflected in his meting out punishment to his own officers for maltreatment and unjust behaviour even towards an outcaste.[4] Similar stories regarding his high sense of justice are given in anecdotes related by Abul-Fazl.[5] He is also mentioned in the Chinese annals as Tchen-to-le-pi-li.[6] According to the latter, he is said to have sought the help of the contemporary Chinese emperor to fight the Arabs.[7] It is not clearly known whether the Chinese emperor responded to his request or not. It was at about this time that the Arabs, who had already conquered the province of Sindh, were marching gradually towards the southern borders of Kashmir, thus posing a grave threat to the valley.

The Arab onslaught towards Kashmir, however, became a positive menace during the reign of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya, as shall be seen later, and this is also the considered opinion of Ray, according to whom

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[1] Pratāpapura has been identified with modern Tapar situated on the high road from Baramula to Srinagar (*R.T.*, I, iv, 10, Stein's note).

[2] *R.T.*, I, 88; iv, 44.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 45.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 52-77; Wilson, H.H., *H.H.K.*, p 41, fn. 5.

[5] *Ain-i-Akbari* (trs.), II, p. 175; Wilson, H.H., *H.H.K.*, p. 41, fn. 6; and also *R.T.*, I, iv, 55-109.

[6] Klaproth, *Memoires relatifs ā l' Asie*, ii, pp. 275 ff., as quoted by Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 45, fn., 60.

[7] Remusat, *Nouv Melanges Asiat.* p. 196 ff. as quoted by Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K*, p. 45, fn., 61,

'Kashmir first came into conflict with the Arabs' during or shortly after the reign of Lalitāditya.[1] According to Al-Biladuri, Hisham-ibn-Amr-al-Taghlibi, governor of Sindh, 'conquered Kashmir obtaining many prisoners and slaves' some time between 768-72 A.D.[2] This has rightly been inferred by Dr. Ray to refer to the conquest of some portions of the Punjab, north of Multan and not of Kashmir.[3]

Vaidya, on the authority of *Chach-nāmā*, refers to some matrimony between a king of Kashmir and a daughter of Chach.[4] This would suggest that Chach, too, was quite alive to the Arab threat in Sindh and wanted to enlist the support of Hindu ruling states in order to meet that challenge. But Chach had died in the later half of the seventh century A.D. and his successor fell to the might of the Arabs in 712 A.D.[5]

It would be interesting to note the position of the Shāhis during these fateful years in the annals of Indian history. On the north and east, they were threatened by the rising Kārkoṭas, while in the west and south they were equally marauded by the advancing armies of the Arabs. After their eclipse at the hands of the former, the territories of Kashmir had considerably been extended and it was quite natural for the rulers of the valley to come in conflict with the Arabs. But, during the reign-periods of Chandrāpīḍa and his notorious successor, Tārāpīḍa, the Arabs do not seem to have made much headway towards Kashmir. Tārāpīḍa was a tyrant and a person of easy-going habits; he did not pay much attention to the rising threat of the Arabs, whose import was subsequently realized by Lalitāditya, his successor.[6]

End of Chandrāpīḍa.

Chandrāpīḍa was equally famous for his piety and reforms. He is credited to have abolished the foolish practice of '*mandeha*' which was prevalent in the valley.[1] The circumstances under which Chandrāpīḍa is said to have met his end are fully detailed by Kalhaṇa.[2] Though no reliance can be placed on the story of witchcraft practised by a dissatisfied Brāhmaṇa at the instigation of Tārāpīḍa, a younger brother of Chandrāpīḍa, yet it is clear that the latter did not have any male issue to succeed him and that his younger brother (Tārāpīḍa) was anxious to grab the throne, and indulged in intrigues against Chandrāpīḍa. It goes to the credit of noble-hearted Chandrāpīḍa who pardoned the culprit or culprits on his death-bed.[3] It is interesting to note that such beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft were current in Kashmir even in the time of Marco Polo, who travelled through these regions.[4] The account of Marco Polo regarding the extraordinary powers of sorcerers hardly bears credence.[5] His statement seems to be highly coloured and the Italian traveller seems to have based his account on hearsay. Yet there is no doubt that sorcery was widely prevalent in Kashmir, as also evident from the accounts of Kalhaṇa.[6] The noble king (Chandrāpīḍa) died after a brief rule of about 9 years (*c.* 711-12 —720-21 A.D.).[1]

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[1] Ray, H.C., *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 112.

[2] *Kitab Futuḥ al Buldan*, II, pp. 230-31, vide Ray, *D.H.N I.*, I, p. 113.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 113.

[4] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, p. 167 fn.

[5] Ray, H.C., *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 6.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72; 112-13.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 53–78. Verse 53 is rather controversial; both Stein and Pandit have accepted the reading *Mandehāḥ* as correct reading, but Ram Tej Shastri prefers to read it as *Sandehāḥ*. It is curious that, in the translation of the verse, the learned Shastri introduces both *Mandeha* and *Sandeha*, though the text does not bear out his interpretation. Obviously, Kalhaṇa has used the word *Mandeha* to refer to some local custom in meting out juridical procedure. The use of *ślesha* may indirectly hint at some age–long non-Aryan practices in legal procedures which were done away by the king just as the morning rays of the sun removed from its path the obstacles in the form of *Mandeha* (*rākshasas*). Cf. also Monier-Williams, M., *S.E.D.*, p. 788. *s.v.*, *Mandeha*.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 82-118.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 115-16.

[4] Yule, H., *Travels of Marco Polo*, I, p. 175. The belief, it should be mentioned in passing, persists even to this day in the hilly tracts of India, specially in the illiterate masses all over the country.

[5] 'They have an astonishing acquaintance with the deliveries of enchantment in so much that they make their idols speak. They can also by their sorceries bring on change of weather and produce darkness and do a number of things so extraordinary that no one without seeing them would believe.' (*ibid*).

[6] From here onward, it will be noticed that sorcery played a great role in making the fortunes of kings as well as in the shaping of political conditions. After the death of Chandrāpīḍa, the princes and relatives,

Tārāpīḍa.

After the death of Chandrāpīḍa, his younger brother, Tārāpīḍa, ascended the throne of Kashmir. He was the first amongst the Kārkoṭas to capture the throne by bringing about the death of his brother. Tārāpīḍa ruled the valley oppressively and derived much pleasure in inhuman acts. Yet he punished Brāhmaṇas for practising witchcraft and was a terror to the people.[2] According to Kalhaṇa, his antagonism of the Brāhmaṇas eventually led the latter to make him a victim of the same plan through which he had disposed of his elder brother, Chandrāpīḍa. Little reliance, however, can be placed on the account, and his rule lasted for about 4 years (*c.* 720-21—724-25 A.D.).

It will thus be noted that the dynasty founded by Durlabhavardhana was stabilised by Durlabhaka and Chandrāpīḍa. The slight set-back it had received, during the short rule of Tārāpīḍa the tyrant, was, fortunately, inconsequential and totally eclipsed by the brilliance of his illustrious successor, Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. The latter is not only the most lustrous figure in the annals of Kashmir but also one of the outstanding monarchs of the post-Harsha era. A valiant conqueror who vanquished and subjugated several ruling chiefs of Northern India, he carried his victorious arms even to the South—if Kalhaṇa were to be believed, as shall be presently discussed. Both Durlabhaka and Chandrāpīḍa had, by their efficient administration, contributed largely towards the prosperity and economic well-being of the people inhabiting the valley. At the same time, the two had also managed to raise their military strength with a view to ensure internal security and ward off foreign aggressions. Thus Lalitāditya was in a position to dream of emulating the military exploits of Samudragupta and also of the fabulous Vikramāditya.

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keen to achieve the reins of the kingdom, applied sorcery to reach their goal. *R.T.*, I, iv, 88, 94 (Stein's note), 112, 114, 124; v, 239; vi, 108-12; 310, 312; vii, 133.

[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 118.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 121-22.

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THE KĀRKOṬAS AT THEIR ZENITH

In the galaxy of heroes, empire-builders and monarchs of the eighth century A.D. all over the world, the name of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, has a lustre of its own. While Europe could be proud of a Charlemagne, West Asia of a just Harun-Al-Raṣhid and China of the mighty Hu-Suan of the T'ang dynasty, India can justly be proud of Lalitāditya, the most illustrious figure of the country in the eighth century, who not only held sway over a large area in the northern regions of India but also extended his suzerainty over a considerable portion of the subcontinent and large tracts of the Central Asian regions—probably for the second time in the annals of Indian history, a millenium after the imperial Mauryas. This mighty conqueror is not only remembered in the annals of India for his wars and conquests but also for his qualities as a champion of justice, promoter of literary and creative activities and for his patronage of art and architecture. Under his benevolent rule the valley rose to heights of unprecedented glory and prosperity which it could never achieve ever after. A crowning monument of his glory—the Mārtaṇḍa temple—though in ruins, stands to this day as a fitting memorial of his greatness.

A sovereign's greatness in ancient and mediaeval periods has mostly been estimated by his conquests. Domination over extensive territories had often been the ardent aspiration of great kings in the past and is true even in modern times. 'What Caesar and Augustus desired, what Charlemagne fought for, what Charles V and Louis XIV attempted, what Napoleon aspired to and what the last German Emperor Kaiser William III had sacrificed millions of lives for, is the same goal of universal dominion. It has attracted in all times great sovereigns in the East and in India, like Aśoka and Samudragupta, Akbar and Aurangzeb.'[1] Recently, in the second world war, Hitler, the Führer, caused the death of millions of people just to fulfil the same desire of universal conquest—an attempt in which many previous sovereigns had already failed. Though encircled by lofty mountains and lack of resources, the valley, too, produced a personality in whom there was the same lambent fire of ambition as that of Samudragupta, courage of Pushyamitra Śuṅga and Khāravela, military genius of Babur, administrative qualities of Chandragupta Maurya and Akbar, and love for art and buildings like Shahjehan. That illustrious person was Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, who subsequently also extended his patronage to great Sanskrit scholars like Vākpatirāja and Bhavabhūti.

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[1] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, p. 207.

Contemporary Political Conditions.

Lalitāditya, the third son of king Durlabhaka and queen Narendraprabhā, succeeded his elder brother Tārāpīḍa at a time when the country's western neighbours were unifying and waxing strong under the influence of Islam. India presented a picture of political vivisection and disunity. The north-west was torn into political fragments, petty principalities vying amongst themselves for power and prestige. The only figure of note in the history of the times was Yaśovarman of Kanauj, a lesser luminary and contemporary of Lalitāditya, who made some earnest efforts to bring the middle and eastern portions of Northern India under one banner. Kanauj, after its heydays under Harsha, was again rising from slumber while Eastern India was ruled by the last lingering remnants of the Guptas, who were themselves disunited. Northern India thus presented a picture of political fragmentation with numerous principalities ruled by weaklings—a factor which helped the ruler of the valley in his *digvijaya*.

A closer study of the contemporary political conditions is of considerable importance in evaluating the conquests of Lalitāditya. A few centuries earlier, Samudragupta had been successful in registering his decisive victories over the kings of Āryāvarta, chiefly because the latter were politically disunited; similarly, the disunited kingdoms of the times failed to offer any effective resistance to the well-equipped and organized armies of Kashmir under Lalitāditya.

The details of such a political fragmentation of the country are, however, not too well-known, and the numerous epigraphs of several dynasties hitherto brought to light are generally vague and not very informative.

Equally meagre is the literary evidence while the numismatic information, too, is scanty and, generally, inconclusive. On the north-western fringes of India, the Shāhis, who for long served as the virtual gate-keepers to Indian lands, ruled from Udabhāṇḍa and also held sway over the western portions of the Punjab.[1] The Kārkoṭas had by now gathered sufficient strength to dominate both Eastern Punjab and the borders of the south-western Chinese empire. A petty chief ruled at Jālandhara and the adjoining regions, while the glory of Kanauj was being revived under Yaśovarman, a prince of uncertain lineage. Further east, the remnants of the later Guptas seem to have parcelled Bihar and Western Bengal amongst themselves. Bengal or Rāḍhā and Varendrī were ruled by some king who had fallen to the might of Yaśovarman and this conquest is the theme of a versatile Prākṛit poet, Vākpati. Nepal was ruled by a Ṭhākurī family while the hilly tracts of upper Bengal were occasionally depredated by the tough and hardy Tibetans. Towards West, the Arabs had lost no time in consolidating their position in Sindh, while the Gurjara Pratīhāras, the Guhilas and the Kalachuris were yet waiting to gain prominence.

The dawn of the eighth century which roughly coincided with the arrival of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa on the political horizon of Kashmir ushered in a new era not only in the history of the valley, but also in that of the whole of India. The preceding centuries had witnessed the rise and fall of the illustrious Guptas and the Pushpabhūtis in the North while in the South the Vākāṭakas had yielded place to the mighty Chālukyas who, too, had been temporarily eclipsed by the Pallavas; the Rāshṭrakūṭa sun was yet to rise. Further South, the Pallavas were still licking themselves to recovery. The only political entity of some note during this period in the North was Yaśovarman, who had endeavoured hard to revive the glory of Kanauj. But, as has often happened in the annals of history, he had soon to bear the brunt of the mighty arms of Lalitāditya.

Yaśovarman, whose exploits are narrated by the Prākṛit poet, Vākpati, in his *Gauḍavaho*, was struggling hard to follow into the footsteps of Harshavardhana.[2] He had managed to bring under his banner the whole of the Gangetic doab and had also extended his sway over some parts of Central India. He then made a bid to establish himself as the paramount sovereign in the North by defeating a king of Gauḍa, which exploit is panegyrically narrated in the *Gauḍavaho*.[1] Unfortunately, it is neither clear whether the king defeated by Yaśovarman was a ruler of both Magadha and Vaṅga, nor is his identity ascertainable. According to Ray, the defeated king, since he is also called '*Magadhādhipa*' in that work, was lord of both Magadha and Vaṅga, and his view has received support from Tripathi.[2] Various other suggestions have also been offered regarding the identity of that ruler and the names of Jīvitagupta II, Rājarājabhaṭa of the Khaḍga dynasty, some ruler of the Śaila dynasty who had extended his conquests to the Vindhyas, and also that of king Harsha of Assam, have been suggested in this connection.[3] All these suggestions are made on the basis of some epigraphic evidence or the other, yet these hardly leave any room for doubt about the political dismemberment of the whole of Northern India into a large number of kingdoms, more often at war with each other. Nepal and the *terai* regions were ruled by Śivadeva II, who, unfortunately, had to bear the brunt of a Tibetan onslaught during these tumultuous decades.[4]

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[1] For the role of the Shāhis and their relations with the kings of Kashmir, see *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XXVII, Nos. I-IV, 1967, 'Shāhi-Kashmir Relations: A.D. 700-1200', pp. 86-91.

[2] Tripathi, R.S., *History of Kanauj*, pp. 197-200.

In the West, the royal family of the Maitrakas was ruling at Valabhī and the contemporary ruler was, very probably, Śīlāditya V (A.D. 740-62).[5] Further West, Sindh was ruled by the Rāi Kings in the first half of the seventh century but later their Brāhmaṇa minister, Chach, had usurped the throne. However, by the time of Lalitāditya, Sindh had been conquered by the Arabs in 712 A.D.[6]

Under such conditions, rulers could hardly be expected to rush to the aid of even blood-relations in times of need. They were mostly busy fighting among themselves and that was the reason of their being unable to face a well-organized military power like that of the Arabs who were ably commanded by such a genius as Muhammad-ibn-Qasim. They could not, therefore, also stand against the might of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.

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[1] Vākpati, *Gauḍavaho*, verses 414-21; Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 198.
[2] Ray, H.C., *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 276; Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 198.
[3] Basak, R.G., *P.H.N.E.I.*, p. 208; Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 277, fn. 1
[4] Ray, H.C., *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 193.
[5] Virji, K.V., *Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, pp. 97-100. cf. Yazdani, G., *Early History of the Deccan*, I, p. 251 for another view of dates.
[6] Ray, H.C., *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 6 ff.

The political picture of South India during the century under review was no better than that of the North. It was similarly divided into numerous petty states, very often at war with each other, and no political frontiers could remain permanent for a very long time.[1] The Chālukyas of Vātāpi (Badami, modern Bijapur) held within their dominions extensive regions of the Deccan.[2] Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-34—744-45) had succeeded Vijayāditya, and was a contemporary of Lalitāditya.[3] The Andhra country was ruled by the Eastern Chālukyas (founded by Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana in about 631 A.D.) and, in the early years of the eighth century A.D., Vishṇuvardhana III (A D. 709—46) was its ruler.[4] He should, therefore, be a contemporary of the Kashmir king.[5] The Pallava kingdom of Kāñchī, in those days, was ruled by Parameśvaravarman II, who was succeeded by Nandivarman II Pallavamalla in 730 A.D.[6] Besides, there also existed many not too important dynasties in the remote South like those of the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas, who, from time to time, had made important contributions to the history of those regions.

It is thus apparent that the political conditions of the country proved very favourable for the extensive conquests of Lalitāditya. Being the youngest son of Durlabhaka (who had ruled for about 50 years) he ascended the throne after his two elder brothers had ruled for about 13 years.[1] It may, therefore, be safely presumed that he must have been quite mature both in age and political wisdom when he ascended the throne. If the run of events, as stated in the Chronicle, be accepted as true, then he might have been about 40 years of age at the time of his accession. It may also be ventured here in this connection that he had received considerable experience in warfare and military administration from the opportunities that had come his way during the reign of his brother Chandrāpīḍa when the armies of Kashmir had gone against the Arabs.[2] Thus Lalitāditya ascended the throne at a mature age, with sufficient experience of leadership and military strategy.

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[1] The Arab challenge, however, was being met by some rulers of Western India singly and we are told in the Nausari Plate that Pulakeśin Avanijanāśraya routed the Arab forces some time in 736-37 A.D. The Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa I also defeated and repulsed an Arab attack some time in *c.* 725 A.D. (*ibid.*)

[2] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 227; Sastri, K.A.N., *History of South India*, p. 147; Yazdani, G., *Early History of the Deccan*, I, pp. 227-30.

[3] Majumdar R.C., *Classical Age*, pp. 246-47; Sastri, K.A.N., *H S.I.*, p. 147; Yazdani, G., *E.H.D.*, I, pp. 227-30.

[4] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 250.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 253; Sastri, K.A.N., *H S.I.*, p. 199. Sastri ascribes him a reign-period between 719—55 A.D., hence a contemporary of Lalitāditya.

[6] Tripathi, R.S., *Ancient India*, p. 441; Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, pp. 262, 281, 283.

Conquests of Lalitāditya.

The first task of Lalitāditya after ascending the throne was to consolidate his position in the valley. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, he made extensive conquests in far off regions but, before he went out on his conquering expeditions in the different parts of the country, he first subdued the neighbouring petty states perhaps on the western and north-western fringes of the Kashmir dominions and then proceeded east where he clashed with the king of Antarvedi—the land situated between the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[3] These annexations seem to have been made some time between 724 A.D. (when Lalitāditya had ascended the throne of Kashmir) and 733 A.D. when he defeated King Yaśovarman of Kanauj.[4]

Conquest of Kanauj : The First Encounter.

Having subjugated the petty states that existed around the kingdom of Kashmir,[5] Lalitāditya directed his forces towards the borders of the kingdom of Kanauj, somewhere on the fringes of the Punjab.[1] Kanauj was, at that time, ruled by the illustrious Yaśovarman, who was aspiring to restore to Kanauj the glory it had achieved during the age of Harshavardhana. That his territories extended as far as the southern Punjab and the sub-mountainous regions of the Himalayas is fully attested both by literary and epigraphic as well as foreign accounts[2] The advancing forces of Lalitāditya must have clashed with those of Yaśovarman. The Chronicle makes it abundantly clear that the tide of events went in favour of Lalitāditya and this is also hinted at in the *Gauḍavaho*.[1] Yaśovarman was forced to try and conclude terms with Lalitāditya, as is apparent from the following passage in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* : 'The thoughtful ruler of Kānyakubja showed himself as one of the wise, when he first showed his back to the fiercely shining Lalitāditya and then made his submission.'[2]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 118, 123.

[2] Chandrāpīḍa has been identified with King Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li of Kashmir, who had sought help from the Chinese emperor against the Arabs. The Annals further record that the Chinese emperor granted him the title of king in 719-20 A.D., which statement is interesting from the view-point of chronology (*R.T.*, I, iv, 45 fn).

[3] *R.T.*, I, iv, 132.

[4] Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, pp. 204-05.

[5] *R.T.*, I, iv, 132-33.

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[1] This campaign has been dealt with fully elsewhere (*Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P.*) (*Saṅgrahālaya Purātatva Patrikā*, No. 4, 1970).

[2] The author of *Gauḍavaho* has expressly stated that Yaśovarman, in the course of his extensive conquests, moved from Marwar to Thaneswar. From Thaneswar he is said to have marched to the once famous city (aerial city?) of Hariśchandra and thence to the hilly regions at the foot of the Himalayas which, in the poet's words, were scented with exudations of the Devadāra trees and which were known as Mandāra hills. Assuming that Vākpatirāja has tried to enumerate the countries in some geographical order, the logical conclusion is that, from Thaneswar and Kurukshetra, Yaśovarman marched towards the present Himachal Pradesh. These regions would comprise areas roughly corresponding to north-eastern Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and possibly a few passes giving access to Tibet as well. One must not lose sight of the fact that Yaśovarman, directly or indirectly, held sway over some of these areas, as according to the Chinese sources, he is known to have sent an embassy to China. Since a passage through Kashmir was out of question for his embassy, his envoys must have travelled through the Tibetan highway leading to Central China. As such, Yaśovarman's conquests brought him dangerously close to the south-eastern extremities of the empire of Lalitāditya and the exchange of arms became inevitable between the two. (See *Gauḍavaho*, Intro., pp. xx-xxxiii, verse 484; Smith, V.A., *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 784).

This hypothetical reconstruction of the course of events is corroborated to a great measure by the Nalanda inscription of Yaśovarmmadeva *i.e.*, Yaśovarman, which is generally taken to belong to that ruler (lines 3-4). Notice has already been taken of the Chinese evidence above. It may also be added that Jālandhara, because of its strategic situation, was coveted by Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman, both of whom wanted to annex it to their kingdoms. The Korean traveller, Hui-Ch'ao states that Jālandhara was successively invaded by the kings of Kashmir and Central India—obviously Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman (Jan Yun-Hua, 'Hui Ch'ao and his works : A Reassessment'; *The Indo-Asian Culture*, XII, No. 3, pp. 177-90).

But the terms of the treaty, or probably the wordings of the draft, were not very satisfactory. According to the Chronicle, the treaty was couched in words which did not pay due respect to the victorious king of Kashmir and put Yaśovarman, the vanquished king, at par with the victor.[3] This was explained to Lalitāditya by his minister, Mitraśarman, who had strongly reacted to the draft and refused to sign it. After rewarding Mitraśarman for his faithful conduct by bestowing upon him the honour of *Pañchamahāśabda*, Lalitāditya soon began preparations for a second attack on Kanauj.[4]

There is, however, the possibility that Lalitāditya and his ministers wanted some pretext to attack and humble Yaśovarman, who, at the moment, was aspiring for supreme overlordship in Northern India. Both kings, apparently, wanted to establish their paramountcy in the north for express purposes. The north-western regions of India were in turmoil and open to constant inroads and depredations of the Muslim hordes. Also, both wanted to present themselves to advantage in the eyes of their Chinese contemporary and longed for friendly relations with him so as not to be open to any possible attack on the rear while dealing with the menace on the western front. Therefore, the possibility that Lalitāditya, goaded by his ministers, was looking for an excuse to assert himself and humble Yaśovarman cannot altogether be excluded as the latter was the only thorn in his way to supreme overlordship in the North. Fortunately for him, the wordings of the treaty provided him with a ready-made excuse.

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[1] The panegyric explains away this discomfiture by the simile of an eclipse (*Gauḍavaho*, verses 827-31).

[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 135.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 137-38.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 140.

The term *Pañchamahāśabda* has been variously interpreted by scholars. Bühler, Kielhorn and Fleet have taken it to mean conferment of five titles (Stein's note on verses 140-43), whereas others have treated it as referring 'to the privilege of using certain musical instruments' (*ibid.*). But the context and the enumeration of the five titles in these verses hardly allows any room for the latter suggestion in the present context (See also Tripathi, R S., *H.K.*, p. 202; Kane, P.V., *H.D.*, vol., p.).

The Second Attack.

Having thus armed himself with an excuse, Lalitāditya soon began preparations for a second and more determined attack on Kanauj.[1] There was, the Chronicle informs us, some reluctance on the part of his generals who did not relish the idea of a long drawn-out war, but Lalitāditya was adamant.[2] The outcome of the ensuing protracted struggle for supremacy, which continued for some time, proved disastrous for Yaśovarman, who was completely overwhelmed by the forces of Lalitāditya. According to Kalhaṇa, Yaśovarman was 'completely uprooted' and the extensive regions (between the Yamunā and Kālikā rivers) around Kānyakubja, together with that famous city, were at the command of Lalitāditya like the court-yard of his own house or palace.[3] Thus, after the rout of Yaśovarman, the paramountcy of Lalitāditya was established in the North.

What happened to Yaśovarman after his defeat at the hands of the king of Kashmir has been a matter of controversy amongst scholars. Earlier, different views were held by eminent Sanskrit scholars and historians about the subsequent fate of Yaśovarman. Wilson was of opinion that Yaśovarman fled away after crossing the Jamuna and was heard of no more.[4] According to Smith, he was done to death in that conflict.[5] Ray held that he was wholly uprooted.[6] Dr. Sircar has added the possibility of Mitraśarman, the Kashmiri minister, being appointed as Viceroy at Kanauj, because Yaśovarman was not only 'uprooted entirely' but his territories were also annexed to the victor's empire.[1] On the other hand, Dr. Tripathi is of the view that he was worsted in fight but was subsequently allowed to rule from Kanauj, no doubt as a vassal.[2] Dr. Majumdar, too, holds that the poetic expression 'uprooted entirely' need not be taken in its strict literary sense and doubts whether Yaśovarman was killed.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 139.

[2] *Ibid.* It is also possible that the generals did not want to renew the hostilities so soon.

[3] "*Samūlaṁ Udapāṭayat*", *R.T.*, (I, iv, 140); "*Gṛihaprāṅgaṇa*", *ibid.*, I, iv, 145. Cf. also *ibid.*, I, iv, 187. The river Kālikā is the present-day Kali and joins the Ganga a little beyond Kanauj.

[4] Wilson, H.H., *H.H.K.*, p. 43.

[5] Smith, V.A., *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 777.

[6] Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 39.

Some of the above conclusions seem to be quite uncalled for. In the first place, the Chronicle also informs us that Yaśovarman, along with his illustrious court-poets, Vākpati and Bhavabhūti, became a panegyrist of Lalitāditya, obviously meaning thereby that he was alive and had not run away into oblivion, as believed by some scholars.[4] Secondly, there is no epigraphic evidence of Kanauj being annexed to the empire of Lalitāditya. Thirdly, had Kanauj been annexed to Kashmir, there would not have been any question of its conquest during the time of Jayāpīḍa, Lalitāditya's successor, as shall be noticed later. Fourthly, Dr. Sircar has possibly missed the import of the verses following immediately the ones taken into consideration by that learned savant. The subsequent verses[5] clearly indicate that Yaśovarman, though vanquished, was spared his life and Lalitāditya, passing over his territories, continued on his conquering expedition eastward.[6]

The uprooting of Yaśovarman, as suggested by the poet, has, therefore, not to be taken too literally, for there are both internal and external

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1. Sircar, D.C., *Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 234.
2. Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 203; Goetz, H., *Art and Letters*, XXVII, No. I, p. 1.
3. Majumdar, R.C., *Classicat Age*, p. 131.
4. *R.T.*, I, iv, 144.
5. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 144-46.
6. The simile of the river Ganga breaking through the Himalayas is very significant. Taken in the case of Yaśovarman, it can also mean, that just as the river breaks through the mountains, so did Lalitāditya break through the armies of Yaśovarman. As pointed out by Stein (*R.T.*, I, iv, 146), the same expression (*Vāhinī*) has also been used in an earlier verse (*R.T.*, I, iv, 134). The simile may also be interpreted in two other ways (*ullaṅghya*). The Himalayas were crossed over but not destroyed, similarly Yaśovarman was passed over *i.e.*, completely defeated but not completely destroyed. The other import would connote that Lalitāditya followed the course of the river Ganga in his eastward march, as shown above.

evidences to the contrary.[1] The fact that Yaśovarman was allowed to rule over his territories by Lalitāditya is perhaps vouchsafed by Ou-Kong, who has noted in his accounts that Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and his 'Central Indian ally', meaning very probably Yaśovarman, had 'blocked' the five passes leading to and from Tibet.[2]

It is very unfortunate that the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which has been the main source of information thus far, does not give detailed information about the further conquests of Lalitāditya in eastern India. After the defeat of Yaśovarman, Kalhaṇa mentions his conquest of Kaliṅga.[3] It is very natural to presume from this that the intervening regions surely fell before him and he marched victoriously up to the eastern coast. It will not be out of place to mention here that the coins of Lalitāditya have been discovered at Kanauj, Banda, Faizabad, Varanasi (Rajghat and Sarnath), Nalanda and Monghyr.[4] These clearly indicate the path Lalitāditya most probably followed on his victorious march towards the east.

It should also be borne in mind that his erstwhile adversary, Yaśovarman, had already conquered the areas comprising Magadha and Vaṅga a little before;[5] as such, the advance of Lalitāditya would naturally have been unhindered.

The big hoard of coins of Lalitāditya which was found at Banda tends to suggest that the locality, being centrally situated, probably served as a supply-base for his eastern and south-eastern campaigns.[6]

This hoard also throws light on the onward march of Lalitāditya towards eastern India. It appears that his armies did not strictly follow the

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 144.
2. Chavannes, E., and Levi, S., *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, pp. 353, 382.
3. *R.T.*, I, iv, 146-47.
4. Pires, E., *The Maukharis*, p. 140; Burn, R., *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 843; Dayal, P., *J.A.S.B.*, (N.S.), XLI, 1928, pp. 6-9; Agrawala, V.S., *J.N.SI.*, X, pt. I, pp. 31-33; *Archaeological Survey of India* (*Annual Report, Eastern Circle*), 1919-20, p. 48.
5. Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, pp. 197-198.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-04; the learned scholar has taken a very plausible view in suggesting that the hoard in question was probably a 'part of the treasures Lalitāditya carried for the maintenance of his forces.........' Since the publication of his work, coins of Lalitāditya have been found at several other places in Northern India, as stated above.

course of the Ganga in the Antarvedī (doab), but, moving in a south-easterly direction, crossed the river Jamuna.[1] It is, however, not possible to guess whether this change in the direction was motivated by any challenge from some petty potentate ruling under Yaśovarman or was a brilliantly thought out measure to protect the rear. The find of the aforesaid hoard lends support to the latter suggestion, as the regions around Banda were of strategic importance and that is probably one of the reasons why the Chandellas also made their stronghold in and around those regions. Having thus consolidated his position and secured his rear, Lalitāditya seems to have conquered the extensive regions of modern Uttar Pradesh and then proceeded towards the east.[2]

It is reasonable to infer that Lalitāditya also took the same route that had earlier been taken by Yaśovarman. Though not much can be built on the chance-findings of stray coins which could have reached far in the course of normal trade, yet it can be safely inferred that Lalitāditya passed very near to, or visited, Varanasi in the course of his onward march, for several reasons. He would naturally have satiated the religious fervour of his troops and also prepared himself for his onward march. Unfortunately, the Chronicle brushes aside such details and he is ultimately heard of reaching Kaliṅga first and thence making his north-eastward thrust into Vaṅga.

The next stage in the campaign of Lalitāditya, as stated above, was his onward march towards Eastern India along the course of the Ganga. His progress towards these regions, according to Kalhaṇa, was comparatively easy, due, naturally, to the fact that the regions extending up to Western Bengal had been incorporated in the empire of his erstwhile adversary, Yaśovarman.[3] Unfortunately, the Chronicler does not furnish any clues about his possible adversaries in those regions and one has to look elsewhere for making any suggestions in this direction.

The history of Bengal prior to the rise of the Pālas in those regions is a

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv. 132.

2. Coin-finds at Faizabad and Varanasi, as noted above, indicate that Lalitāditya, in all probability, paid visits to these holy places, though the mere find-spot of a coin is by no means a positive proof of his having done so.

3. *R.T.*, I, iv, 147-48; Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 198.

subject of great controversy. The country seems to have been laid into confusion after the earlier raid of Yaśovarman, who had extinguished all political authority there. Petty chiefs were vying among themselves and Bengal, as later inscriptions of the Pālas suggest, was in a state of *Mātsya-nyāya*.[1] The probable opponent of Lalitāditya in Gauḍa, as discussed elsewhere,[2] was Rājabhadra of the Bhadra dynasty who, during the interval between the raid of Yaśovarman and that of Lalitāditya, had gained considerable importance in those regions. This is attested to indirectly both by indigenous and foreign literary notices. According to the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a king whose name began with '*bha*' ruled over these regions.[3] Some such corroboration can also be had from the accounts of Lama Tāranātha and Bu-ston.[4] Since Rājabhadra does not figure any more in the political history of Bengal, it appears that he was the most likely adversary of Lalitāditya and shared a woeful fate in Kashmir.[5]

Similar uncertainty exists about the ruler or rulers of Kaliṅga who had to bear the brunt of an attack from the Kashmir monarch. Taking advantage of the chaotic conditions in Northern India after the demise of Harshavardhana, the Śailodbhavas had asserted their supremacy in Kaliṅga.[6] Ayaśobhita II (or III) who, like his father Sainyabhīta II (or III), performed the *aśvamedha* and other sacrifices, extended his territories up to the river Mahanadi and Cuttack. The Tekkali grant refers to four kings of that dynasty who ruled over Orissa till the middle of the eighth century when the Śailodbhavas were supplanted by the Kara (or the Bhagadatta) dynasty which 'ruled over Koṅgoda in the latter part of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D'.[7] It is, therefore, quite probable that it was either in the time of Madhyamarāja III, the last known ruler of the Śailodbhava dynasty or his unknown successor, that the armies of Lalitāditya overran the regions of Kaliṅga.

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[1] Sinha, B.P., *D.K.M.*, pp. 318 ff.

[2] *J.U.P.H.S.*, XIV (N.S.), Pts. I-II, pp. 63-70.

[3] *Āryāmañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, verse 680, vide Jayaswal, K.P., *Imperial History of India*, p. 44 ff.; cf. also above.

[4] *J.U.P.H.S.*, XIV (N.S.), Pts. I-II, pp. 63-70.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, pp. 145-47.

[7] Sastri, H.P., *J.B.O.R.S.*, IV, pp. 162-67; *S.I.E.*, 1935-36, pp. 64-65; cf., Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 146.

Southern Conquests and the Last Days of Lalitāditya.

Lalitāditya had embarked upon a scheme of extensive conquests and spent many years of his life 'on expeditions, moving round the earth like the sun.'[1] Kalhaṇa furnishes a vivid account of these conquests, some of which are fully corroborated by indigenous as well as foreign sources while others are open to doubt for want of positive evidence and perhaps also because they were achieved in lands far too distant.[2] His Deccan campaign falls into the latter category.

After a successful campaign in the North, Lalitāditya, according to Kalhaṇa, carried his victorious arms towards the South up to the river Kaveri.[3] Scholars, however, are divided in their opinion about the veracity of the account furnished in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Stein himself was highly sceptical and, according to him, 'the absence of all historic details, as well as the strict geographical order of the countries named, shows that we have in this account merely a conventional elaboration of the popular belief which attributed to Lalitāditya the customary "*digvijaya*" of an Indian hero.'[4] While on the one hand the whole expedition to southern and western regions has been dubbed as an eulogistic bombast and devoid of truth, Vaidya and, in recent times, Goetz, found no reasons to disbelieve Kalhaṇa.[5] The arguments giving rise to scepticism may be briefly gone into. According to Stein, the account of the '*digvijaya*' is devoid of historical details, though it gives a strict geographical order of the countries through which the armies of Lalitāditya are said to have passed, yet it cannot be believed. It has further been argued that the account in the Chronicle does not mention any king or kings by name; that it does not tally with, or take cognisance of, the political conditions obtaining in the South from existing sources and, lastly, that it is much too vague. It is surprising that though Stein conceded that the order of conquests was in conformity with the geographical order of countries, yet he was not prepared to accept the veracity of the statement of Kalhaṇa. The very fact that the countries and

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 131.
2. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 128 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 150 ff.
4. *Ibid.* I, p. 90.
5. Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I*, I, p. 207 ff, 300 ff; Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 43-60.

kingdoms overrun by Lalitāditya are enumerated in strict conformity with the geography of the Deccan, proves the '*digvijaya*' campaign as a *fait accompli*, as shall be seen presently. The next argument—that the account lacks mention of kings by names and their respective territories, hardly deters further scrutiny. Too many literary accounts are found lacking in this respect and even the contemporary account of Vākpatirāja does not furnish the name of the king of Gauḍa defeated by Yaśovarman. Non-mention of a king's name in any literary account is hardly a proof that the said person did not exist; Porus or Samudragupta would, on this criterion, hardly find a place in the annals of Indian history.

In so far as the second and third objections are concerned, it will presently be seen that such a whirlwind campaign as that of the Kashmiri monarch was not only possible but is also admissible to sober history.

The southern campaign of Lalitāditya has thus been summed up by Dr. Majumdar: 'Passing through Karṇāṭa, ruled over by queen Raṭṭā who paid him homage, Lalitāditya reached the bank of the Kaveri and even conquered some of the islands. Turning west, he overran "the seven Koṅkaṇas" and advanced as far as Dvārakā (in the western extremity of the Kathiawar peninsula).'[1] This phase of his conquest has given rise to scepticism and the learned scholar, without committing himself, adds that 'it is difficult to believe without corroborative evidence that he conquered the Deccan or South India', but, at the same time, concedes that 'there is no valid reason to regard the whole thing as mere fiction.'[2] It may be noted here that the campaign of Lalitāditya was not aimed at territorial expansion but was merely a '*digvijaya* or *digjaya*' befitting a *sārvabhauma* king.[3] The territories of the defeated kings were not annexed, only tributes exacted (*jayārjitadhana*) and the king is said to have returned to his capital with eleven crores of gold coins from his campaigns.[4] The campaign and its account remind one of an earlier one—that of Samudragupta—who had undertaken a similar expedition towards the South some four centuries earlier. Besides, it is hardly possible to find any mention of defeats or submissions in the records of the kings who 'bowed before the blast' of

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[1] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 134.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *R.T.*, I, iv, 126, 183, 189.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv. 176, 189.

Lalitāditya's arms. Even the contemporary account of *Gauḍavaho* does not specifically mention the discomfiture of Yaśovarman at the hands of Lalitāditya and hints at it (as has been inferred by Tripathi and others) by alluding to an eclipse which spelled some ill-luck to the Kanauj king.[1]

The southern campaign of Lalitāditya began with the submission of a Raṭṭā queen, whose identity has, however, not been established beyond doubt. Vaidya suggested that the lady in question was the mother of Kokkili, and a queen of the eastern Chālukyan family.[2] According to him, Stein had 'wrongfully said in a note that this queen was a Rāshṭrakūṭa lady.'[3] But it may be pointed out here that 'Kokkili', according to his own calculations, could not have been a contemporary of Lalitāditya as the former's six-month rule ended some time before 714 A.D.[4] Following Fleet, he was of the opinion that Kokkili came to the throne in 709 A.D. and that Lalitāditya invaded the South in the same year.[5] But Lalitāditya's expedition could not have taken place before the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. or before the defeat of Yaśovarman, who ruled from *c.* 725 to *c.* 752 A.D.[6] Lalitāditya himself came to the throne in *c.* 724 A.D.[7] Thus, it is apparent that the Raṭṭā queen could not possibly have been an eastern Chālukyan queen, nor could Kokkili have had the advantage of usurping the throne for a short while following the campaign of Lalitāditya. Instead, he seized the throne when his elder brother, Jayasimha II, died in *c.* 709 A.D. and, after a rule of six months, was overthrown by Vishṇuvardhana III, who ruled from *c.* 709 to 746 A.D.[8] Hence the former could not have been Lalitāditya's contemporary, nor could his mother be the Raṭṭā queen, alluded to in the Chronicle.[9]

Prior to any suggestions regarding the identity of the Raṭṭā queen, a brief account of the different ruling dynasties in the Deccan and the far south is worthy of consideration. In the east and south-east, the Chālukyas of Veṅgī held sway over a large area under Vishṇuvardhana III (*c.* 709-46 A.D.) who, as noted above, had ousted Kokkili. Vishṇuvardhana III, 'seems to have entrusted the charge of his kingdom to Vijayāditya I in A.D. 746',[1] though he 'lived at least up to 762 A.D.',[2] as the Musinikunda plates[3] of S.E. 684 (762 A.D.) would suggest. This abdication or handing over of the reins of government on his part to his son has hitherto remained inexplicable. Was it due to his inability to face the Kashmiri monarch effectually? The suggestion is quite tempting though, in the present state of our knowledge, stands uncorroborated.

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[1] Tripathi, R.S., *H K.*, pp. 204-05.

[2] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, pp. 300-01.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, p. 301.

[4] According to Ganguly too, Kokuli-Vikramāditya—Bhaṭṭāraka (Kokkili of our present discussion) ruled only for about six months in 709 A.D. (Ganguly, D.C., *Eastern Cālukyas*, p. 33 ff).

[5] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I* , I, p. 301.

[6] Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 197.

[7] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 183.

[8] Ganguly, D.C., *Eastern Cālukyas*, pp. 34-38.

[9] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 253.

Further South, the Pallavas, under Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (*c.* 730-796 or 800 A.D.) were still engaged in their wars with the Chālukyas of Badami under Vikramāditya II (733-34 to 744-45 A.D.), who had succeeded Vijayāditya about the same time. The Chālukyas of Badami had a number of feudatories, mention amongst whom may be made of Indra I, son of Karkka.[4] With the active support of his other three brothers, Indra I, (whose ancestors had established themselves for several generations in Maharashtra), was soon nibbling away small tracts in the modern Madhya Pradesh and gaining in strength.[5] Not much is known about the martial career of Indra I and the Rāshṭrakūṭas still owed allegiance to the Chālukyas of Badami. Indra I had forcibly carried away a Chālukyan princess from a *svayaṁvara* in teeth of opposition and married her.[6] The name of the princess, as read by Sastri and others was Bhavagaṇā whereas Altekar amends it to Bhavanāgā.[7] The marriage has been placed by a consensus of opinion amongst scholars in *c.* 715 A.D.[8]

Indra I had a reign of some twenty years (*c.* 715-735 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son, Dantidurga, the real founder of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house.[1] As noted above, Indra had married his (Dantidurga's) mother, a Chālukyan princess, Bhavanāgā (or Bhavagaṇā) in about 715 A.D. As such, Dantidurga must have been born about 717-18 A D. at the earliest. Not much is known about the circumstances leading to the death of Indra I, and still less about the conditions following his demise about 735 A.D. or a little earlier. In any case, Dantidurga must have been a youngster of some 16 or 17 years at about this time, if not younger, as can easily be calculated from the date of his father's marriage in 715 A.D. with Bhavanāgā. It is quite possible that Bhavanāgā was acting as the Rāshṭrakūṭa queen-regent before the accession of Dantidurga, who was a minor at that time. The Chālukyan princess had recently been widowed, her son was a minor and, all of a sudden, she had been faced with the invasion of Lalitāditya. It is quite clear from the account of Kalhaṇa that she herself hastened to make submission, offering assistance to the forces of the Kashmiri king in marching through the rugged Vindhyan mountains.[2] Lalitāditya, too, gladly availed of this opportunity as Kalhaṇa's account is couched in a friendly tone.[3]

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[1] Ganguly, D.C., *Eastern Cālukyas*, p. 39.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *An. Rep. on S. Ind. Epigraphy*, 1917, p. 116.
[4] Yazdani, G., *Early History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 251 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*; *E.I.*, XIV p. 124; *ibid.*, XVIII, p. 243.
[7] Yazdani, G., *E.H.D.*, Vol. I, pp. 230, 252.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, p. 252.

Several circumstances may have prompted the queen-regent to adopt this course. On the one hand, her suspicion and fear of the three brothers of her late husband, Dhruva, Kṛishṇa and Nannarāja, or any one of them, and, on the other, the danger from the Chālukyas of Badami might have prompted her to do so. Her friendly gesture towards Lalitāditya must have naturally acted as a deterrent to all such designing persons and rulers who could pose a threat to young Dantidurga. Perhaps it was for this reason that Vikramāditya II, the overlord suzerain, did not take any steps to interfere in the affairs of this Rāshṭrakūṭa family. Later, as is well known in the annals of South Indian history, Dantidurga took active part against the Pallavas on behalf of the Chālukyas.[4] There is, therefore, nothing disagreeable in Stein's suggestion[5] that the Raṭṭā queen, referred to by

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[1] Yazdani, G., *E.H.D.*, Vol. I, p. 252.

[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 152-54.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 249; *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 2; Sastri, K.A.N., *History of South India*, p. 156.

[5] *R.T.*, I, iv, 152 fn.

Kalhaṇa, was, most probably, a Rāshṭrakūṭa queen and, as suggested by Goetz, Bhavanāgā.[1]

Lalitāditya, according to Kalhaṇa, proceeded further south towards the regions watered by the Kaveri.[2] The armies of the conquering emperor seem to have reached the banks of that river and also the Malaya mountains, one of the seven holy mountains a devout Hindu aspires to visit, and which, we may reasonably assume, Lalitāditya, also seems to have visited.[3] As stated earlier, these territories were then ruled by the Pallavas, whose constant wars with the Chālukyas of Badami had considerably weakened their military prowess. Besides, the Pallava royal family was passing through a difficult phase in its history; king Parameśvaravarman II had died in c. 730 A.D. after suffering an ignominious defeat at the hands of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II. Sathianathaier and Sircar, on the authority of the Vaikuntha Perumal temple inscription, pointed out that, though Parameśvaravarman II had a son by the name of Chitramāya, Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, one of the sons of Hiraṇyavarman, came to the throne under difficult circumstances in *c.* 730 A.D.[4]

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[1] Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 49 ff. The Chronicler clearly mentions that the Raṭṭā queen assisted the forces of the invader by making 'the roads over the Vindhya mountains adequate and free of obstacles' (*R.T.*, I, iv, 153). Further, Kalhaṇa does not anywhere state that Lalitāditya proceeded to her capital which might have been anywhere. There was thus no necessity of taking or adopting any circuitous route for the invader. The Raṭṭā queen could have met the Kashmiri king somewhere near the frontiers of her own territories. Thus the route that would have been cleared by her or made road-worthy could very well have served for further progress of the forces of Lalitāditya towards the South. Lalitāditya, as is suggested herein, proceeded from the Orissan coast westward and crossed the Vindhyas with the help and assistance offered by the Raṭṭā queen. Kalhaṇa's statement is quite clear and suggestive on this point. As noted hereafter, the route would have been much straighter down south and slightly towards the west as will be clear from the countries and places referred to in the itinerary of Lalitāditya's march in the same geographical order.

[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 155.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 156; cf. Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV, pp. 678-79.

[4] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, pp. 262-63, 281—82.

Nandivarman II, who had boldly come forward to guide the Pallava destiny, was a mere lad of 12 years at the time of his accession.[1] Shortly before, the Pallavas had been beaten by the Chālukyas, the Pāṇḍyas and also by the Gaṅgas under Śrīpurusha. According to Sastri, Parameśvaravarman II had lost his life in a battle against the Gaṅga king.[2] Nandivarman II did not come to the throne without opposition and, while one pretender to the throne lost his life opposing the former's entry into Kāñchī, Chitramāya continued the struggle against him for quite some time.[3] Thus while the Pallava house was passing through a phase of internal strifes, it was quite possible for Lalitāditya to have carried his victorious arms up to the Kaveri and the Malaya mountains.[4]

Another feature of Kalhaṇa's narrative lending credulity to his description is the non-mention of any clash of arms between the forces of Lalitāditya and the Chālukyan monarch, Vikramāditya II (733-34—744-45 A.D.) or his successor, Kīrtivarman II (744-45 to 757 A.D.).[5] The reign of Vikramāditya II seems to have come to a close some time in 744 A.D. or shortly before, as Kīrtivarman II was on the throne in 744-45 A.D.[6] Immediately afterwards, Kīrtivarman II and his feudatory Gaṅga chief, Śrīpurusha, were engaged in a long drawn-out war with the Pāṇḍyan emperor, Rājasiṁha I (740-65),[7] who crossed the Kaveri and inflicted a crushing defeat on both Kīrtivarman II and Śrīpurusha some time in *c.* 750 A.D.[8] Then again, Dantidurga, son of the Raṭṭā queen, was getting more powerful day by day, foreboding an eclipse of the Chālukyan glory. Thus, the Chālukyan authority was being challenged both in the North and in the South by the rising powers of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pāṇḍyas, respectively. It is quite possible that Kīrtivarman II was, at the time of Lalitāditya's invasion, busy with his Gaṅga feudatory Śrīpurusha, in a prolonged war with the Pāṇḍyas and could hardly have been in a position

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1. Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 281.
2. Sastri, K.A.N., *H.S.I.*, p. 154.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *R.T.*, I, iv, 155-56.
5. Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 248.
6. Cf. Sastri, K.A.N., *H.S.I.*, p. 156.
7. Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 267.
8. Sastri, K.A.N., *H.S.I.*, p. 156.

to offer any resistance to the Kashmiri monarch. It is admitted by all that some time between 742[1] and 753 A.D.,[2] Dantidurga dealt a crushing blow to the tottering Chālukya supremacy. Kalhaṇa did not, therefore, take notice of the once mighty power of the Chālukyas. As such, there does not seem to be any discrepancy in his account.

Marching homeward, Lalitāditya ravaged the seven Koṅkaṇas.[3] Passing through the richly fertile tracts of the western coast, he turned slightly north-west to pay his homage to the holy city of Dvārakā.[1] During the period under review, Lāṭa formed part of the Chālukyan empire. 'The Viceroy of Lāṭa region during Vijayāditya's reign, about A D. 731-32, was Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja, surnamed Vinayāditya and Yuddhamalla, who was a younger brother of *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śīlāditya.'[2] That Yuddhamalla, who probably has been referred to as Dugdhamalla by Pampa in his *Vikramārajunavijaya* (also called *Pampa-Bhārata*), ruled over Lāṭa at about this time is also proved by the epigraphic evidence of Kollipara and Balsar plates.[3] It is surprising that he is referred to as having gained victories over kings of Kashmir, Kamboja, Magadha, Mālava, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga, Pallava, etc., in the Kollipara plates.[4] This, indeed, is surprising, for the list of kings and kingdoms over which Yuddhamalla is said to have been victorious includes the Kashmiri monarch and the very regions or territories conquered by Lalitāditya. Yuddhamalla seems to have ruled till about 756 A.D. and it is quite probable that he had bowed before the Kashmir emperor but a later *praśastikāra* heaped upon him the credit of defeating the Kashmiri king, Lalitāditya, in a panegyric vein.

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[1] Ellora Plate; Majumdar, R.C., *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 1 ff.

[2] Samangad Plates, *I.A.*, xi, p. 111.

[3] The reference to the 'seven Koṅkaṇas' (Kauṅkaṇas) here is of particular interest in this context. Following Wilson, Stein had enumerated them as Kerala, Tuluṅga, Govarāshṭra, Koṅkaṇa proper, Kerātaha, Varalatta and Berbera (*R.T.*, I, IV, 159, see Stein's note). The *Malayalam Dictionary of Gundert* (quoted by Fleet in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*) has, however, the following verse indicating the seven Koṅkaṇas :

काराटं च विराटं च माराटं कोकणं तथा।
हव्यगं तौलवं चैव कोलं चेति सप्तकम ।।

Thus the seven Koṅkaṇas were Kārāṭa (modern Karad in the Satara district), Virāṭa or Hangal (Dharwar), Mārāṭa or the Maratha country, Havyaga or the north Kanara, also called Banavasi (cf. Sircar, D.C., *G.A.M.I.*, p. 30 fn.), Taulava or South Kanara, and Kerala (Yazdani, G., *E.H.D.*, p. 35). Yazdani also points out the following seven divisions of Koṅkaṇa on the basis of epigraphs, viz., Payve (also Hayve or Haive), Koṅkaṇa, Revatīdvīpa, Iridige, another Koṅkaṇa (comprising 1400 villages), Kāpardikadvīpa and Lāṭa. Both these lists have Havyaga or Hayva (also called Payve and Haive) in common. Now Hayve and Havyaga etymologically mean 'the land of snakes' and the 'Sanskrit rendering of the name was Ahikshetra' (*ibid.*). It is interesting to note that Kalhaṇa, while dealing with the conquests of Lalitāditya in the South, makes a pointed reference to snakes in the following verse :

चन्दनाद्रेस्तदास्कन्द त्रासभ्रश्यवहिच्छलात ।
श्रीखण्डद्रुमदो: षण्डान्मण्डलाग्रा इवापतन् ।। (I, iv, 156).

The simile of snakes falling down from the trees like curved swords is, according to the use here, of considerable import, occurring as it does in the context of Lalitāditya's victorious march to the Koṅkaṇa country and the Malaya mountains, the latter marking the farthest point of his expedition. It appears that the Chronicler had based his description of the conquests of Lalitāditya on some earlier literary composition wherein the exploits of the monarch in the South had been detailed at length and the territories roundabout the Malaya mountains had been noted as being infested by snakes.

It has been suggested by Goetz that Kayya, referred to subsequently in the Chronicle as a ruler of Lāṭa, was Karkka II of the Antroli Chharoli plates of 757 A.D.[5] The existence of a viceregal family of the Rāshṭrakūṭas which, 'seems to have ruled in northern part of the Chālukyan empire,' is

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 159.

It would thus appear that the conquering expedition of Lalitāditya was not altogether devoid of religious interest. For, he is found visiting most of the seven holy rivers, seven mountains and the seven cities during his campaigns. The Kaveri, Malaya mountains and the cities of Dvārakā and Ujjayinī come in this category.

2. Majumdar. R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 247. Curiously enough, Dr. Majumdar elsewhere calls him a son of Pulakeśin II (*ibid.*, 106 fn).

3. Yazdani, G., *E.H.D.*, Vol. II, p. 506.

4. *Ibid.* The plates also name the Yavanas and Turushkas, who had also been humbled by Lalitāditya. A conflict with Lalitādiya would further strengthen the *praśastikāra* in his panegyric of conquests over these kings as the latter had been subdued by the Kashmir monarch.

5. *R.T.*, I, iv, 209; Goetz, H., *J B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 48.

borne out by epigraphic data.[1] Karkka II, therefore, seems to have been a viceroy in northern Gujarat during the reign of Dantidurga.

A brief account of Karkka II would be desirable here. Dantidurga died in *c.* 756 A.D. and was succeeded by his uncle, Kṛishṇa I. This succession was challenged, 'most probably', by Karkka II, who had assumed imperial titles in 757 A.D. and is also known by another name—Rāhappa.[2] If Karkka II is to be identified with Kayya of the Chronicle, then there is reason to believe that he had been cherishing dreams of occupying the throne after Dantidurga's death for a long time and had even tried to enlist the support and sympathy of the Kashmiri monarch by establishing religious and charitable institutions in Kashmir.[3] If this be true, then the invasion of Lalitāditya, the submission of the Raṭṭā queen, (mother of Dantidurga) and subsequent attempt of a member of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house to gain favour of that monarch in his own designs, may be admitted to sober history.

Goetz has further tried to identify Mummuni of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* with some Śilāhāra king of the South who was defeated by Lalitāditya.[4] This suggestion is, however, unwarranted, as the victory over Mummuni of the Chronicle is placed after the conquests of the Kāmbojas and the Tuḥkhāras in the northern regions (*uttarāpatha*) and before the subjugation of the Bhauṭṭas and the Darads.[5] Kalhaṇa specifically states that '... .... when he (Lalitāditya) saw on all sides most of the kings defeated, he entered by pathless tracks the far-spreading northern region.'[6] Then follows the account of the afore-mentioned conquests.[7] As such, Mummuni could not possibly have been a king of the South; even Goetz himself admitted that '......... of Lalitāditya's time we know no Śilāhāra ruler of that name, but as our informations are most fragmentary, this is not a serious objection.'[8]

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[1] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 247.

[2] Bhagvanlal Indraji, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVI, p. 88, 105 ff; Yazdani, G., *E.H.D.*, I, p. 258.

[3] *R.T.*, I, iv, 209-10.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 167; Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 49.

[5] *R.T.*, I, iv, 165-69.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 163.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 165-69.

[8] Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 49.

But the main objection to his view lies in the fact that his supposition is in direct contradiction of Kalhaṇa's explicit statement cited above.

In view of what has been stated above, it is difficult to agree with Stein's observation that Kalhaṇa's account of the Deccan campaign is 'merely a conventional elaboration of the popular belief which attributed to Lalitāditya the customary "*Digvijaya*" of an Indian hero.'[1] Yet, while admitting the paucity of evidence, he is prepared to credit the same king with victories over Yaśovarman, the Shāhis and the extensive hilly tracts 'over the region of the lower hills to the north of the Punjab.'[2] But, while considering his opinion, it should be borne in mind that at the time when he made these observations, the learned scholar was handicapped in more ways than one as he did not enjoy the benefit of epigraphic and numismatic evidences that have come to light in recent years. He has frankly admitted that 'no coins of Lalitāditya have yet come to light,'[3] whereas one is aware of such finds at numerous places in Northern India as noted earlier. He also did not live long enough to consider the evidence of the Kollipara and Balsar grants which came to light later.

A brief summary of the political conditions obtaining both in the North and the South during the decades under review would help in dispelling the scepticism of such scholars who are inclined to treat the account of Kalhaṇa as mere panegyrical rhodomontade. Yaśovarman's defeat is now accepted by all scholars and the onward march towards Bengal is, to some extent, corroborated by the find of coins at Rajghat and Monghyr, while the uncalled for praise (from the view-point of the glorification of Lalitāditya) of the faithful Bengalis who laid down their lives to vindicate a just grievance in Kashmir, attests his conquests in those regions. Torn into fragments, Bengal (*Pañcha-Gauḍa*), had been easy meat for both Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya.

The conditions in the South call for a careful analysis. As noted above, the eastern Chālukyas were passing through a phase of internal dissensions and were unable to offer any resistance to the invader. The Raṭṭā queen, whosoever she might have been, had the prudence to offer submission; the

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1. *R.T.*, I, p. 90.
2. *Ibid.* I, p. 89.
3. *Ibid.*

very fact that she is stated to have offered valuable help by making paths and roads worthy of access and use is suggestive of the expedition. The Pallavas had yet to stabilise themselves under the teenager, Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, after the shattering blows of the Chālukyas, Gaṅgas and the Pāṇḍyas. The power of the Chālukyas was on the decline as Dantidurga, son of the Raṭṭā queen, was not only gaining in strength but was also a friend of the conqueror. It is quite possible that, taking advantage of the situation created by this sudden invasion, he started biting off chunks of the Chālukyan territories and was finally able to defeat and overthrow Kīrtivarman II.[1] The Koṅkaṇa chiefs and other rulers, always satellites of the Chālukyan monarchs, could hardly offer any resistance, though, later on, Yuddhamalla claims victory over the Kashmir king in Kollipara and Balsar grants, cited earlier. Further northwards, there is a blank in the history of the Maitrakas of Valabhī between the reign-periods of Śīlāditya V (730-35 A.D.) and Śīlāditya VII (766-67 A.D.), (known dates of the two). The possibility of such extensive conquests being made by Lalitāditya is, therefore, quite admissible.

In this context, another interesting fact in connection with the details narrated by Kalhaṇa may be stated here. Such a faithful narration of the characteristic features of the peoples of different regions in the South by the poet only corroborates the fact that his account is authentic and he had derived his information from reliable sources (as he himself admits at the very beginning), like Suvrata's condensation of the same, Kshemendra's *Nṛipāvalī*, other chronicles, and numerous epigraphs.[2] In detailing these conquests, the poet also describes certain manners and customs of the peoples inhabiting the regions conquered by Lalitāditya. For example, the Turushkas are said to have been forced to follow the custom of shaving their heads as a mark of humiliation whereas the *Dākshiṇātyas* or the southerners made to tie their waist-cloths like tails hanging from their bodies.[3] This is nothing but a poetic way of expressing the mannerisms pertaining to customs, dress, etc., of the people defeated by that monarch.

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1. Yazdani, G., *E.H.D.*, I, p. 254.
2. *R.T.*, I, i, 11-15.
3. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 179-80.

Conquests in Western India and the Triumphal Return.

The victorious forces of Lalitāditya met with little opposition from the Maitraka ruler of Valabhī, who was, most probably, Śīlāditya VI. Very little is known of these Maitraka kings of Valabhī from *c*. 690 A.D. to 770 A.D.[1] 'It was probably during the reign of Śīlāditya V that Valabhī was invaded by the Arabs……… These raids took place probably during A.D. 725 to 735.'[2] Since Śīlāditya V was ruling about 730-35 A.D. and Śīlāditya VII 'the last known king ……… was on the throne in 766-67 A.D.', it may safely be deduced that Śīlāditya VI must have ruled some time between 735 A.D. and 766 A.D.[3] Śīlāditya VI had, apparently, to face a sea of troubles from the Arabs on the one hand and from the Chālukyas, the Pratīhāras of Avanti and also from the Rāshṭrakūṭas on the other.[4] Besides, one Jaikadeva is also known to have been ruling in the Saurāshṭra-maṇḍala with imperial titles.[5] Thus, Lalitāditya seems to have met with little opposition in this area, where too many political powers were trying to assert themselves at the cost of the Maitrakas.

The campaigner next proceeded to Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti. It was only natural for Lalitāditya to pay homage to the famous shrine of Mahākāla in all his grandeur after a visit to Dvārakā. Known as one of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas*, a visit to *Mahākāleśvara* at Ujjayinī is the cherished desire of every devout Hindu even today. Its antiquity as well as its religious importance are attested both by Kālidāsa and Bāṇa.[6] It has been conclusively shown by Tripathi and Majumdar that the Pratīhāras held sway over these regions during the period under review.[7] According to Majumdar, Nāgabhaṭa I ruled there from *c*. 730 to 756 A.D.[8] The inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras are eloquent about the real and imaginary conquests of the kings of that dynasty, but nowhere does

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[1] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 150

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *I.A.*, XII, p. 155; Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 150, fn. 2.

[6] *Raghuvaṁśa*, vi, 34, *Kādambarī*, (ed. Peterson), p 53.

[7] Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 226; Majumdar, R.C., *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 20.

[8] Majumdar, R.C., *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 20.

Nāgabhaṭa I figure as having clashed his arms with a king of Kashmir. Nāgabhaṭa I had imperial aspirations; he had 'established his supremacy over the Gurjara kingdom of Nāndīpurī and probably also over the Pratīhāra family of Jodhpur.'[1] It is thus easy to comprehend that he lost no time in establishing his supremacy immediately after Lalitāditya had departed from Ujjain. Like an astute politician, he waited prudently for the Kashmiri forces to pass on and quietly stepped in to assert himself in the general confusion following the departure of the invader.[2]

According to Kalhaṇa, the route taken by the forces of Lalitāditya was through the arid and pathless tracts of Rajasthan.[3] It has been suggested by Goetz that, while passing through these regions, Lalitāditya also subdued petty chieftains including the Guhilot ruler, Bappā Rāwal, of the legendary fame who had occupied Chittor (Chitrakūṭa) and its adjoining regions after defeating the Mori or Maurya ruler, Manurāja, of that locality.[4] While Tod suggested 728 A.D. as the date of the occupation of Chitrakūṭa (Chittor) by Bappā, Ojha placed the same event in 734 A.D.[5] In any case, if a clash did occur, Bappā would certainly have been the contemporary ruler of the regions from Mewar to Chittor and adjoining areas, through which the return-march was adopted by Lalitāditya on considerations of water and fodder facilities for his large forces. Without going into controversies regarding the identification of Bappā Rāwal with Kālabhoja (by Ojha) or Khummāṇa I (by Bhandarkar), it would be profitable to look into the possibility of any contact —friendly or otherwise—between Bappā and Lalitāditya during this campaign.[6]

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[1] Majumdar, R.C., *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 19.

[2] A somewhat similar strategy was followed by his name-sake and descendant, Nāgabhaṭa II who, after being driven out of Kanauj by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, lost no time in reoccupying that city after their departure. This is apparent from the Pathari inscription in which he is stated to have turned back quickly and is more explicitly put in the Radhanpur inscription where 'the Gurjara (Nāgabhaṭa II) in fear (of Govinda III) vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in dream he might not see battle' (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 240; VI, pp. 240, 250).

[3] *R.T.*, I, iv, 163.

[4] Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 57; Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 158.

[5] Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 158.

[6] *Ibid.*

According to some legends, on which Goetz places much reliance, Bappā abdicated either in 753 A.D. (Ojha) or in 764 A.D. (Tod) and died fighting in the north-western regions of 'Persia and Turkistan'.[1] It has been suggested by Goetz that Bappā, a man of considerable military acumen, laid down his life in an expedition of Lalitāditya to those regions.[2] This obviously would suggest contact between the two on an earlier occasion and hint at the submission of Bappā to Lalitāditya at that time. Only then could Bappā Rāwal have proceeded along with Lalitāditya in his Central Asian expedition, and possibly died along with him some time in or about 756-57 A.D.

It would thus appear that the Deccan and western campaigns of Lalitāditya are quite within the realms of possibility under the political conditions prevailing in the South and the West and also because of several other factors. In the first place, Kalhaṇa has based his narrative on some substantial grounds—possibly some earlier literary accounts that are lost and also on local traditions then current in the valley. Secondly, certain historical personages like the Raṭṭā queen, Kayya, Mummuni, etc., who figure in the Chronicle in this connection, when properly identified, would and further strength to the possibility of the above campaign. Thirdly, it is difficult to brush aside altogether the indirect evidence of the Kollipara and Balsar plates, referred to above, and also the legend regarding the death of Bappā Rāwal in a campaign in the remote north-west, where Lalitāditya, too, is stated to have perished, as shall be subsequently noticed. Lastly, it is inconceivable that a part of Kalhaṇa's narrative—the Deccan campaign—be set aside as imaginary, when its earlier half—that of the defeat of Yaśovarman and of the eastern campaign—is accepted as factual history by the cumulative evidence of literature, coins and epigraphs.

The aforesaid campaigns of Lalitāditya and his claims to paramountcy may be accepted as *fait accompli*. Dr. Majumdar has rightly pointed out that 'these extensive conquests made the kingdom of Kashmir, for the time being, the most powerful empire that India had seen since the days of the Guptas.'[3] The problem that faces a student of history is that of chronology and the sequence of his extensive compaigns in the Gangetic plains, Bengal, Orissa, the Deccan and Western India. As regards the latter, it has already been pointed out that the itinerary furnished by Kalhaṇa stands the test of geographical location and, if the campaigns be accepted to sober history, he also furnishes us with the sequences as well as the routes adopted by the armies of Lalitāditya. In so far as the chronology is concerned, it can only be constructed on the basis of the course of his conquests.

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[1] *Classical Age*, p. 158; Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 57.

[2] Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 57.

[3] Majumdar, R.C., *Ancient India*, p. 262.

As has been noted above, Yaśovarman of Kanauj was the first ruler who had to bear the brunt of Lalitāditya's arms. Judging from facts and the indirect hints of Vākpatirāja, the calculations of Tripathi, Goetz and Majumdar may be taken as conclusive and the Kanauj king was defeated some time in 733 A.D. As such, it may be presumed that the hostilities must have started some time earlier, possibly about 730 A.D., when Lalitāditya embarked upon his plan of conquests. After subjugating Yaśovarman, Lalitāditya pressed forward towards Bihar and Bengal which regions would have kept him occupied till about 735-36 A.D., and during this period he would also have passed through Orissa.[1] From A.D. 736-37 onwards, Lalitāditya was occupied in his conquests in the Deccan which included the voluntary submission of the Raṭṭā queen, defeat of some Śīlāhāra chieftain, campaign in the Kathiawad regions, minor engagements in Rajasthan and his final return to Kashmir. Keeping in view the conditions of transport and communications and also the movement of a vast army together with military engagements in-between, one would not be far from the mark to allot a period of at least ten years for this part of the campaign. As such, this period would have extended from 736-37 A.D. to 746-47 A.D., which is a reasonable surmise.[2] According to Goetz, Lalitāditya must have overwhelmed the numerous chiefs to claim victory over such extensive territories.[3] The same scholar is further inclined to place these conquests (of the western regions) between 740 and 746 A.D.[4] During this very period Lalitāditya must have dealt a blow to the Maitrakas of Valabhī whose history for that period is a blank and also shattered the

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1. Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 54.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 51ff.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

power of the Mauryas of Chittorgarh.[1] Lalitāditya could thus have returned back to Kashmir some time by the end of 746 A.D. or early in 747 A.D., as Kashmir was threatened by a Tibetan attack in that year.[2]

The causes of this brilliant success of the Kashmir monarch are not far to seek. Both Northern India and the Deccan plateau were passing through a phase of political instability after the demise of Harsha and the decline of the Chālukyan power in the Deccan. At the same time, Lalitāditya had organized a large and efficient army comprising 125,000 *Karṇīrathas*.[3] The exact nature of these *Karṇīrathas* is, however, difficult to ascertain, but it is apparent that it comprised a mobile force of skilled archers mounted on '*Karṇīs*' and commanded by nobles of proven military acumen. Alberuni refers to the practice of the nobles and grandees riding palanquins (*Kaṭṭas*), carried on shoulders by bearers.[4] It is possible that while palanquins were used in peaceful exhibitions of pomp and grandeur, the '*Karṇīs*' were meant for swift movement in times of wars.

Chaṅkuṇa, hailing from Tuḥkhāra land and a minister of Lalitāditya, seems to have been responsible for the efficient organization of such a swift and mobile army.[5] According to Goetz, Chaṅkuṇa introduced certain novel features in the organization of the army and possibly introduced certain new tactics of warfare as well, which could not be countered by the opposing forces.[6] He also credits the Kashmiri forces of familiarity with the Chinese arms and their methods of warfare.[7] That greater emphasis was laid on a large and well-trained cavalry was also noted by Vaidya according to whom, '.........Lalitāditya's chief arm of offence was cavalry and not the elephant force as with Harsha, and naturally enough; for the countries of Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkestan supply more horses than elephants.'[8] Curiously enough, Bāṇa, writing about a century earlier, is full of praise for Kashmiri horses.[1] Thus, Chaṅkuṇa, because of his capacity to equip and organize a large army may be credited with a fair share in the success of the campaigns of Lalitāditya. If the suggestion of Goetz be accepted, Chaṅkuṇa was responsible for the introduction of Sasano-Chinese type of cavalry in the Kashmiri army which proved a valuable asset to Lalitāditya throughout his campaigns.[2] Obviously, Chaṅkuṇa was quite alive to a possible threat from Tibet in future and had thoroughly familiarised his forces with such tactics as to render such attack futile. Just as 'Ala-ud-din's war machine, organized in order to stem the advance of the Mongol hordes, was finally turned against Gujarat and the Deccan, so the modernized army of Kashmir conquered India, until the Tibetans forced Lalitāditya to return to the Himalayan highlands.'[3] Thus, it may be concluded that a large and well-organized cavalry force was, to a great measure, responsible for Lalitāditya's success. Besides, Kalhaṇa, too, has eulogised the skill and interest of Lalitāditya in training horses.[4] The infantry and the elephant forces, also suitably trained and equipped, were relegated to secondary importance because of their slow movement.

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[1] Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 56; Bamzai, P.N.K., *History af Kashmir*, p. 113.

[2] Goetz., H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 57.

[3] *R.T.*, I, iv, 407 (Stein's note).

[4] *India, Alberuni*, (Sachau), I, p. 206.

[5] *R.T.*, I, iv, 246.

[6] Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S*, XXVII, pp. 47-48.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, p. 209.

Threat From Tibet.

Soon after his triumphal return to Kashmir, Lalitāditya was threatened by an impending attack from Tibet, then under the famous and powerful king, Khri-lde-btsug-brtan-mes-ag-tshoms, who ruled over the country from 705 A.D., and was a descendant of the first Buddhist Tibetan king Sron-Tsan-Gampo.[5] The seriousness of this danger can be easily recognized from the fact that Lalitāditya himself, a no less powerful monarch, had to ask for help from the Chinese emperor.[6] The Tibetans had already annexed the provinces of Yunnan, Szechuan, Kansu and Sinkiang, all parts of the Chinese empire.[7] It appears that Lalitāditya suffered an initial set-back in the beginning and appealed to the Chinese emperor for help. This may have been due to the fact that the military prowess of the Kashmir king had been considerably affected during his long and arduous campaigns within the Indian subcontinent. Accordingly, Lalitāditya appealed to Hiuen Tsung, the Chinese emperor (713-55 A.D.), for 200,000 men, informing him at the same time that he and the Central Indian king (Yaśovarman) had blocked the southern borders of Tibet.[1] The Chinese Annals inform us that Mu-to-pi (Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa) sent U-li-to as his ambassador to the Chinese court to seek aid against a common enemy and further add that the emissary told the emperor (Chinese) of his master's success against the Tibetans in his earlier campaigns.[2] But the mission, from all accounts, proved an utter failure. Hiuen Tsung, however, did not comply with this request; yet Lalitāditya was not only able to meet the Tibetan challenge alone but also defeat them after a sanguinary encounter, pushing them back eastwards. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, and there are good reasons to accept his account as true, Lalitāditya also occupied the high plateau land north and north-east of Kashmir and subdued the nomadic tribes inhabiting those regions.[3]

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[1] Cowell, E.B., (tr.), *Harṣa-Carita*, p. 113.

[2] Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 48.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *R.T.*, I, iv, 265.

[5] Goetz, H., *Art & Letters*, XXVII, No. I, p. 3; cf. *J.B.B.R.A.S*, XXVII, p. 57.

[6] *R.T.*, I, p. 91.

[7] Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 57.

Campaigns in Central Asia.

Having dealt with the Tibetan menace successfully, Lalitāditya turned his attention towards Central Asia. Indian history is singularly poor in examples of Indian kings leading expeditions beyond the traditionally recognized frontiers of India and, as pointed out by Vaidya : 'India had always been won by hordes coming from Turan but this singular exploit of Lalitāditya in going out of India and conquering Turan deserves a prominent place in the early mediaeval history of the country.'[4] The hardy people of those regions offered very stiff opposition to Lalitāditya and the latter had to face numerous difficulties at every step.[1] The Kambojas were defeated and crushed easily while the Tuḥkhāras (Tokharians), who first offered some resistance, later fled to the mountains leaving behind their horses.[2] Their chief, Mummuni, was worsted thrice which indicates that, though beaten in the first encounter, he tried to re-establish himself twice thereafter.[3] The Bhauṭṭas and the inhabitants of Darad deśa, who were noted for their hardihood and warlike demeanour, were made to flee to the deserted city of Prāgjyotishapura.[4] Thenceforth he proceeded towards Vālukāsamudra, undoubtedly the southern extremities of the Gobi desert and also passed over some region described by the Chronicler as '*strīrājya*'.[5] The king of Uttara-Kuru, however, fled away without offering any resistance.[6]

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[1] Goetz, H., *Art & Letters,* XXVII, No. I, p. 3; Stein, A., *R.T.*, I, p. 91.

'That Muktāpīḍa should have endeavoured to secure against this danger the help of a Chinese alliance was natural enough, seeing that the Tibetan expansion threatened equally the Chinese territories northwards' (*ibid*).

[2] *R.T.*, I, p. 91; Bamzai, P.N.K., *H.K.*, p. 114.

[3] Goetz, H., *Art & Letters*, XXVII, No. I, p. 3.

[4] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, p. 211.

Kalhaṇa here refers to the habits of the people, their practices, hair-styles and dresses which he credits as impositions laid on them by the victorious Lalitāditya. For example, according to him, the Turushkas were made to shave off half their heads and the people inhabiting the South forced to put on a dress (loin-cloth) which touched the ground like the tail of an animal.[7] Wilson cites a passage from the *Harivaṁśa*, which reads as follows :

'......The King Sagara in obedience to the orders of his Guru Vasishṭha, deprived the Mlechchhas of their institutes, and imposed upon them these marks. The Śakas had half the head shaved, the Yavanas and Kambojas the whole of their hair taken off, the Pāradas were ordered to wear beards.'[8]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 164.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 166. See note by Pandit. Tokharish country was in Central Asia south of the Altai mountains and north-west of the Gobi desert. Kucha, Turfan and Karashahr were its principal cities. The people belonged to the Buddhist faith.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 178-79. Who this king was, is not known. See Stein's note.

[4] *Ibid* , I, iv, 171; cf. also I, ii, 147 fn.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 172. Pandit's note, I, iv, 173. *Nālukāmbudhi* probably for Gobi desert.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 175.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 179-80; Wilson, H.H., *H.H.K.*, p. 46 fn.

[8] Wilson, H.H., *H.H.K.*, p. 46 fn; *Harivaṁśa*, XIV, 1-19.

Vaidya and Goetz have found no reasons to disbelieve the account of these extensive conquests of Lalitāditya both in the North and in the South.[1] Vaidya, however, follows a chronology which is not accepted nowadays. The learned author has placed the exploits of Lalitāditya in the first quarter of the eighth century which is quite contrary to the evidence now at hand. His attempt to establish synchronisms between the various rulers of the dynasties of the trans-Vindhyan kings on the one hand and Lalitāditya on the other is far from convincing in the light of facts now obtainable and generally accepted. One important piece of information furnished by him is rather interesting. Quoting an extract from the *Chach-Nāma,* he refers to a letter written by Dahir to Muhammad-ibn-Qasim extolling, in an indirect way, the armed prowess of the king of Kashmir.[2] It would thus appear that the ground for embarking on a plan of such extensive conquests had already been prepared by his predecessors and Lalitāditya was destined to carry it out and corner the glory for himself subsequently. Goetz is more sanguine and his attempts to establish the truth in the legends concerning Bappā Rāwal and the latter's exploits beyond the frontiers of India while helping an unnamed king cannot be easily brushed aside, more so in the light of Lalitāditya also meeting a similar fate in the regions beyond India.[3]

In this context, the import of an eighth century inscription in Sharda script found at Kabul may also be taken into consideration.[4] The epigraph is considerably mutilated, and, unfortunately, does not furnish the name of the king whose exploits it extols. Yet it contains a reference to 'the powerful flesh-eating Turushcas' who were 'causing alarm' to some land or people (the text is broken here) and who, obviously, had been suppressed by a conquering monarch. Contemporary history is unaware of any king of India except Lalitāditya who, in the eighth century A.D., was powerful enough to punish the Turks on the remote frontiers of India and save the Brāhmaṇas of that area from the clutches of the Turks. Kalhaṇa credits

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[1] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, pp. 207-12. Cf also chronological table, p. 36; Goetz, H., *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 43 ff; Goetz, H., *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLV, pp. 44-45.

[2] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, p. 208.

[3] *R.T.*, I, iv, 337 ff.

[4] Burns, A., *Cabool*, p. 121.

Lalitāditya with extensive conquests in those regions. It is, therefore, logical to assume that the epigraph was intended to perpetuate the memory of Lalitāditya's conquests and suppression of hostile tribes in those regions. Besides, the fact that the above mentioned inscription is in the Śāradā script lends further support to the belief that it extols the conquests of the powerful Kashmiri king.

The impression that Lalitāditya could possibly have led such an extensive campaign both within India and beyond its frontiers was first created by the generalisations of Stein.[1] The learned scholar admits that the Kashmiris of Alberuni's time 'celebrated annually on a certain day a festival in commemoration of a victory which Muttai, king of Kashmir, was alleged to have won over the Turks.'[2] But the festival referred to by Kalhaṇa and established at Parihāsapura, does not commemorate his conquest over the Turks alone, and is actually in reference to his entire campaign.[3] In Alberuni's defence, it can be pointed out that the Turks, too, formed part of Lalitāditya's conquests. The festival, as Kalhaṇa would lead to believe was, thus, established after his *digvijaya* and the Turks also were a part of it.

Stein, basing his conclusions about the far-flung conquests of Lalitāditya on the observations of Alberuni, treated them as 'unhistorical' and beyond comprehension.[4] But it should be noted here that Alberuni himself admits that 'perhaps the herementioned king ruled over the whole of India……'[5] This statement should be interpreted to refer to his extensive conquests rather than territories actually and directly under his rule. As for Lalitāditya's victory over the Turks, Alberuni further admits that the *agdus* festival, held on the 2nd day of *Chaitra* (March) every year, was 'celebrated on account of a victory gained by their king, Muttai (Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa) over the Turks.'[6] The association of the said festival with Lalitāditya needs hardly be doubted and 'no wonder that for centuries the Kashmiris celebrated the victories of the great emperor whom, with

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1. *R.T.*, I, pp. 90-91.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
3. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 242.
4. *Ibid.*, I, p. 91.
5. *India*, (Sachau), II, p. 178.
6. *Ibid.*

pardonable exaggeration, they chose to call the universal monarch.'[1] It would thus appear that Alberuni's account, by itself, does not permit one to treat the conquests of Lalitāditya as mere rhodomontade on the part of Kalhaṇa.

Death of Lalitāditya.

The worthy monarch, who immortalised himself in the annals of India as a warrior and an able ruler, met his end in one of his expeditions beyond the frontiers of his empire. According to Kalhaṇa, two traditions were rife during his life-time about the death of Lalitāditya. According to one, he died due to excessive snow-fall in the region called Āryānaka which may correspond with Ariana of the Greek writers and Eastern Iran of the present times.[2] According to the other tradition he committed suicide in order to avoid capture by his enemies when separated from the main body of his army.[3]

The career and conquests of Lalitāditya offer few parallels in the annals of Indian history. He was not only a great soldier and military leader but also an able administrator and patron of art and letters. In between his conquering expeditions, he exerted himself to the cause of his subjects and paid due attention to the affairs of the government. He caused the erection and construction of several bunds on many rivers and lakes for purposes of irrigation for checking of sudden floods and got the beds of many rivers dredged and cleared which brought great prosperity to the valley.[4] He also utilized the Vitastā at Chakradharapura (modern Tsakdar) by distributing its waters with the help of water-wheels.[5] He took keen interest in the promotion of artistic activities in the valley and was responsible for founding the Kashmir school of art which also incorporated Greek, Gandhāran and indigenous (Gupta) traits in it. He was also a great patron of learning.[1] If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, he extended his patronage to Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja, the two court-poets of Yaśovarman, whom he had defeated.[2] Though a staunch follower of Hinduism, his religious tolerance is manifest in the fact that he showered his munificence towards all sects and aided construction of shrines of different religions and sects. Even the kings worsted by him in military engagements were not treated harshly, as is apparent from the narrative of Kalhaṇa.

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[1] Majumdar, R.C., *A.I.*, p. 262.

[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 367. See Pandit's note on Āryānaka. According to him, Āryānaka was Persia (Iran). In the inscriptions of Darius I the people of Iran are referred to as Aryans and their language as Aryan.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 368-69; vii, 1428-49.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 191.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 191 ff.

His Manifold Qualities and Code of Ethics.

Kalhaṇa relates an interesting fact which brings out Lalitāditya's qualities of head and heart and paints him as a compassionate ruler, well versed in the *śāstras* and principles of running an efficient government. Once while he was away from Kashmir on one of his numerous expeditions, no news of his person's welfare was received by his faithful ministers for some time. The anxious ministers sent a messenger to their master and the courier returned back with a letter of instructions to them.[3] Even allowing for the fact that the contents of the letter had been considerably embellished and polished by Kalhaṇa, these are worthy of notice. The king regretted that it was not possible for him to return soon as he was gaining success at every step and that success had to be achieved.[4] Next he exhorted his ministers and officials to follow certain instructions regarding governance in his absence. The first was to avoid internal strife, as it was more dangerous than any external threat. Secondly, the people in the far-off mountainous regions were to be dealt with sternly and kept under constant vigilance lest they grew restive. Thirdly, the peasantry or the masses were not to hoard foodgrains for more than a year's subsistence, or else they would prove troublesome like the Ḍāmaras. Fourthly, the forts and fortifications were to be looked after well and necessary repairs done without any delay, as these were responsible for the defence and security of the state. Fifthly, the ministers should bear themselves well and be of 'distinctive behaviour'. In the sixth place, the king instructed the ministers to be

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1. Goetz, H., 'The Beginning of Mediaeval Kashmiri Art', *Journal of the Bombay University*, XXI, pt. 2, pp. 63-94.
2. *R.T.*, I, iv, 144.
3. *R.T.*, I, iv, 340-63.
4. *Ibid.*

careful in recruitment to the two wings of the army—the cavalry and infantry—and ordered them to see that no two persons belonging to the same place should possibly be put in one and the same company, for it would offer them opportunities to mix together and conspire. Lalitāditya had also authorized his ministers to keep a close watch on the character, merits and demerits of his sons. The right of primogeniture was to be followed; yet, if his successor proved violent, his commands were to be resisted. In the same letter the king seems to have held a high opinion of his grandson, Jayāpīḍa, and as events proved afterwards, the latter did indeed possess some of the qualities of his grandfather.[1]

It can easily be seen that the contents of the letter are based on the familiar Hindu theory of seven limbs of the state (*saptāṅga*) as enunciated by Manu and other law-givers.[2]

Kalhaṇa also throws light on the weaker sides of this illustrious monarch's character. That Lalitāditya was fond of wine and maintained a sizable seraglio is quite apparent from the Chronicle. Once, in intoxication after a drinking bout, he ordered his ministers to burn down the town of Pravarapura if it looked as beautiful as his capital.[3] But the crafty ministers played a successful ruse and the town was saved. Next morning, the king felt remorseful after coming to senses and was relieved to learn that Pravarapura had escaped destruction. Thereafter, he instructed his ministers not to execute his orders issued in a state of intoxication.

The Unfortunate Gauḍa King.

A far more serious blemish on his character was the treatment meted out to the King of Gauḍa whom Lalitāditya had invited and assured safety of person on the oath of Parihāsakeśava (Vishṇu).[4] The Gauḍa king, whose identity has hitherto not been fully ascertained, was brutally done to death by the hired assassins of Lalitāditya.[5] This treacherous act of

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 339-60.

[2] *Manusmṛiti*, IX, 294-96; Kāmandaka, *Nītisāra*, IV, 1. Cf. also *Arthaśāstra*, VI, 1.

[3] *R.T.*, I, iv, 310 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 323-30.

[5] For the identity of this king of Gauḍa, see *J.U.P.H.S.*, XIV, (N.S.), Pts. I-II, pp. 63-70, 'An Unfortunate King of Gauḍa'.

Lalitāditya so enraged a band of the Gauḍa king's faithful followers that they came to Kashmir and completely destroyed the shrine of Rāmasvāmin mistaking it for that of Parihāsakeśava. The story, though couched in a romantic vein, is very probably true, otherwise Kalhaṇa would hardly have taken notice of it. The Chronicler pays rich tributes to the loyalty and devotion of those followers of the Gauḍa king, who traversed such a long distance for the sake of revenge and laid down their lives.[1]

A large number of coins issued by Lalitāditya has been found in different parts of northern India, Kanauj, Banda, Faizabad, Rajghat, Sarnath, Nalanda and Monghyr being the principal sites of such finds.[2]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 324 ff.

The *Wakiat-i-Kashmir*, according to Wilson, states that the name of the Gauḍa king was Gopala (Wilson, H.H., *H.H.K.*, p. 48). According to Smith, the king of Gauḍa killed in Kashmir was the heir of the king slain by Yaśovarman of Kanauj (Smith, V.A., *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 783). According to Dr. Majumdar, the Gauḍa king had acknowledged the suzerainty of Lalitāditya and was probably forced to visit Kashmir, *History of Bengal*, (Vol. I, pp. 83-4). These views have, however, been taken into consideration in the *J.U.P.H.S.* (N.S.), Vol. XIV pp. 63-70.

[2] Pires, E., *The Maukharis*, 1934, p. 140; Dayal, P., *J.A.S.B.* (N.S.), XLI, 1928, pp. 6-9; Agrawala, V.S., *J.N.S.I.*, X, pt. I, pp. 31-33.

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THE DECLINE OF THE KĀRKOṬAS

The passing away of Lalitāditya was an important event in the annals of the Kārkoṭa dynasty and also in the subsequent history of Kashmir. During the eventful days of that lustrous personality, Kashmir had risen from a petty principality to a sizable empire and reached the acme of its glory, but the emperor was not fortunate enough to have worthy sons who could live up to the standards set by him. According to Goetz, 'with his end and that of his grandee armie' the Kashmir empire' began to disintegrate.'[1] The successors of that monarch were not possessed of these worthy qualities and, contrarily, through their weaknesses, brought about the downfall of the dynasty. They could not guarantee the same peace and sense of security to their subjects—factors that contributed towards the lowering of the power and prestige of the dynasty itself.

Kuvalāyāpīḍa.

The immediate successor of Lalitāditya was Kuvalayāpīḍa, born of his queen Kamalādevī, who ascended the throne in *c.* 760-61 A.D.[2] Lalitāditya had expressly informed his ministers that Kuvalayāpīḍa, whose qualities had been ascertained by him secretly, was his preference as a successor from amongst his sons.[3] The new monarch was of a liberal disposition but was soon called upon to deal with his recalcitrant brother.[4] It appears that the latter was in league with a few scheming ministers who were out to line their own pockets by creating bad blood between the two brothers.[5] The prince, though the Chronicle does not name him, could be none else but his step-brother, Vajrāditya, as indicated therein.[6]

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[1] Goetz, H., *J.B.U.*, XXI, pt. 2, p. 72.

[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 372; Tripathi, R S., *History of Kanauj*, p. 196.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 353, 356.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 373-74.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 375-76.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 355-393.

Having overcome this initial difficulty, Kuvalayāpīḍa soon started reorganizing his armed forces, but the new king does not seem to have actually made any conquests. Rather a sensitive man, he was soon touched to the quick by an act of disobedience from one of his ministers. According to Kalhaṇa, he was first inclined to punish the minister concerned but later himself abdicated and retired to the forests.[1] Kuvalayāpīḍa had been ably served by his father's minister, Mitraśarman, who had played a leading role during the reign of Lalitāditya in his relations and subsequent wars with Yaśovarman of Kanauj. The reference to a minister acting against the orders of the king is rather vague as it does not name the minister.[2] It is possible, therefore, to suggest that King Kuvalayāpīḍa had differences of opinion with Mitraśarman himself. Having realised that he could not punish that worthy person, who commanded very great respect because of his previous meritorious services, the king himself abdicated. But the suggestion does not fully stand scrutiny in face of the subsequent events as, immediately after the abdication of Kuvalayāpīḍa, Mitraśarman committed suicide by drowning himself at the sacred confluence of the Indus and Jhelum rivers. It may, however, be argued that Mitraśarman, himself a conscientious man, and having realized his mistake, so ended his life; but such a possibility is remote in view of the fact that he drowned himself along with his wife. Further, he was greatly attached to Kuvalayāpīḍa and would not have acted against his master's wishes.[3] Some other scheming minister seems to have deliberately brought about a show-down in which he succeeded with the help of Vajrāditya, other ministers and responsible dignitaries of the court whom Kuvalayāpīḍa had antagonised earlier. Since Mitraśarman could do nothing against this clique of conspirators, he also ended his life. Thus, ended the short reign of Kuvalayāpīḍa after a brief rule of some thirteen months.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 378-87.

Two possibilities seem to have influenced the king in behaving so strangely; either the minister concerned was a man of considerable influence or that he was protected so well by a clique at the court (spearheaded covertly by Vajrāditya) that he himself had to relinquish the throne.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 378-79.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 391.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 392.

Vajrāditya.

Kuvalayāpīḍa was succeeded by his step-brother, Vajrāditya, who is also known by his aliases of Bappiya or Bappiyaka.[1] In contrast to Kuvalayāpīḍa, who was of a pious and generous disposition, the new king was cruel and cared little for his subjects.[2] Even religious endowments and donations did not escape his greed, as indicated by his withdrawal of grants to foundations at Parihāsapura, made by his illustrious father, Lalitāditya.[3] A man of licentious habits, he spent most of his time in his harems. Kalhaṇa refers to his introduction of several *mlechchha* practices in Kashmir and also to the sale of men to the *mlechchhas*.[4] He soon became a prey to consumption because of his excesses and died after a reign of seven years (*c.* 761-62 A.D.—768 A.D.).[5]

Pṛithivyāpīḍa and Saṅgrāmāpīḍa I.

The sufferings of the people of Kashmir were not yet over; Vajrāditya was followed by his son, Pṛithivyāpīḍa, a man of equally vile disposition and oppressor of his subjects, who ruled for a little over four years (*c.* 768—772 A.D.).[6] Since Kalhaṇa devotes only one verse to his reign, it may be safely assumed that his rule, too, was equally inglorious. Saṅgrāmāpīḍa I, his step-brother, succeeded in overthrowing him and had a butterfly existence of only seven days on the royal throne.[7] There is, however, some slight difference in the different texts of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Scholars like Troyer, Lassen and Durga Prasad had read '*Vatsarān*' instead of '*Vāsarān*' as read and followed by Stein in some texts.[8] Thus, if the reading *Vatsarān* (years) is accepted as correct, then it would mean that Saṅgrāmāpīḍa I ruled for seven years and not seven days as upheld by Stein. He obviously followed Hultzsch, who had drawn the attention of scholars towards this discrepancy.[9] Since the manner of the death of Saṅgrāmāpīḍa has not been detailed in the Chronicle, we may presume that he died of natural causes and Jayāpīḍa, the youngest son of Bappiya, ascended the throne in order (*kramāt*) after him. It will thus be readily observed that within the short duration of a little more than a decade after Lalitāditya, the kingdom of Kashmir was ruled by a string of weak and vicious rulers who greatly undermined the power and prestige achieved in so hard and strenuous a way by that great ruler. The situation was, however, somewhat redeemed by the accession of the next king, Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya, as shall presently be noticed.

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[1] *R.T.*, *Ibid.*, I, iv, 393.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 394.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 395.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 397.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 398; cf. also II, viii, 3425.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 399.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 400-01.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, Intro. p. 50. See Stein's note, I, iv, 400.
[9] Hultzsch, E., *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 99.

Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya.

The throne of Kashmir was once again occupied by a colourful personality—that of Jayāpīḍa—whose good qualities had also come to the notice of his illustrious grandfather, Lalitāditya, even when a mere child.[1] That worthy prince strove to emulate his grandfather in more ways than one and redeemed to a great measure the fallen fortunes and glory of the family.[2] The preceding kings had undermined the prestige of the state but Jayāpīḍa, a man of vision and valour, soon launched himself on a scheme of conquests in all directions.

Jayāpīḍa soon collected a sizable army of 80,000 and also called upon his feudatory chiefs to accompany him along with their forces.[3] Needless to add, Kalhaṇa has described this expedition at great length, as noticed below; but the affairs in Kashmir during his absence may be summarised first.

Usurpation of the Throne by Jajja.

Very soon after his departure from Kashmir, Jayāpīḍa's brother-in-law (*Syāla*) usurped his throne by force.[4] This naturally placed Jayāpīḍa in a perilous position as he had, very probably, advanced much farther from the valley. He had also to face desertion from his ranks as his soldiers were unwilling to be away for long from their homes. Undaunted,

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 359; cf. also 353-63.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 403.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 404, 407.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 410.

Jayāpīḍa sent back a few of his feudatories as well, and marched ahead with a band of trusted and loyal followers.

Details of the Campaign.

Jayāpīḍa soon marched down to Prayāga where he bestowed his munificence on the Brāhmaṇas and the worthy.[1] Kalhaṇa makes him give one less than a lakh of horses there and, incidentally, refers to the prevailing practice of the use of seals for sealing purposes (in this case the jars containing the sacred waters of the Ganga-Jamuna confluence).[2]

It was at Prayāga that Jayāpīḍa dispatched most of his followers homeward and proceeded onward with a trusted band of his followers.[3] As Kalhaṇa subsequently informs us, he left his forces quietly which were later organized by Devaśarman, son of Mitraśarman, the fidelity of which family (to the Kārkoṭas) had remained unshaken during all those fateful years.[4] Travelling *incognito* through the territories (*maṇḍaleshu*) of several kings, he ultimately arrived at Pauṇḍravardhana, the capital city of Jayanta, the king of Gauḍa.[5]

Jayāpīḍa in Bengal.

Jayāpīḍa's wanderings in the distant eastern India are detailed at great length in the Chronicle.[6] If the account is shorn off of its embellishments, the disguised king entered Gauḍa under the name of Kallaṭa, came to the notice of the people of that country first through attending a dance and then by slaying a lion (or a tiger) which had terrorised the locality by its depredations and killings.[7] Unwittingly, the king and the people soon found out that the slayer of the lion was none else but Jayāpīḍa, *alias* Kallaṭa who was moving about for some unknown reasons in all quarters. Since King Jayanta had found out the identity of Jayāpīḍa, he proposed to marry his only daughter, Kalyāṇadevī by name, to him.[1] It is quite interesting to note that Kalhaṇa refers to the defeat of the five Gauḍa chiefs at the hands of Jayāpīḍa, which shows that Gauḍa was even then, divided into five divisions.[2]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 415.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 419.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 468-69.

[5] Pauṇḍravardhana must be located somewhere in the present district of Rajshahi; *R.T.*, I, iv, 421, (Stein's note); cf. also Sen, B.C., *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 126.

[6] *R.T.*, I, iv, 420-69.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 445-54; 462.

This incognito visit of Jayāpīḍa to Gauḍa and his conquests, as alluded to in the Chronicle, have become a matter of controversy amongst scholars. Stein thought that it was 'impossible in the absence of other records to ascertain the exact elements of historic truth underlying Kalhaṇa's romantic story.'[3] Subsequently, Smith, Chanda, Banerji and others also doubted its veracity on similar grounds.[4] Vaidya thought that the account sounded more like a fable than sober history.[5] On the other hand, Ray, Sinha, Sen and Vasu, though not committing themselves, have accepted it within the pale of probability.[6] Ray however, was inclined to identify Jayanta with Gopāla and this view was strongly supported by Sen, according to whom Jayāpīḍa's campaign in those regions could be accommodated in his scheme of chronology.[1] Vasu considers Jayāpīḍa's adventures in Bengal quite probable. According to Dr. Sinha, Jayāpīḍa defeated a prince ruling over the five Gauḍas, who might have 'belonged to the Śaila dynasty known from the Ragholi Plate'; evidently he takes Jayāpīḍa's invasion as a fact.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 462-67.

[2] *Pañcha Gauḍa* and *Gauḍa-maṇḍalas* have, however, been discussed at great length by Dr. Sircar in his *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieaval India*, pp. 110-22. Perhaps the reference to *Pañcha Gauḍa*, is the first among literary sources (See also Sen's *S.H.A.I.B.*, p. 126, for its geographical boundaries.). Since Gauḍa was also conquered by Lalitāditya, it is obviously a repeat performance by Jayāpīḍa who, too, seems to have taken advantage of the acutely unsettled political conditions there.

The reference to the march of Lalitāditya in '*Gauḍa maṇḍala*' (*R.T.*, I, iv, 148) could also have been for purposes of replenishing his forces with elephants from that land.

As suggested elsewhere (*J.U.P.H.S.*, XIV, pt. i & ii, pp. 63-70), it is quite possible that Gauḍa was earlier ruled by the king who had been treacherously slain in Kashmir (*R.T.*, I, iv, 323) during the reign of Lalitāditya. The confusion and anarchy following his assassination had been taken advantage of by several petty chiefs, Jayanta, too, obviously, being one of them.

[3] *R.T.* I, Intro., p. 94,

[4] Smith, V.A., *E.H.I.*, p. 387; Chanda, R.P., *Gauḍa-Lekhamāla*, p. 18; Banerji, R.D., *Bānglar-Itihāsa*, p. 133; Vide, Sen, B.C., *S.H.A.I.B.*, p. 289, fn. 1.

[5] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, p. 215.

[6] Ray, H.C., *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 278; Sinha, B.P., *D.K.M.*, pp. 320-21; Sen B.C., *S.H.A.I.B.*, p. 309; Vasu, N.N., *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Rājanya Kāṇḍa, p. 101, vide Sen, *S.H.A.I.B.*, p. 289.

There are several reasons to support the statement of Kalhaṇa. In the first place, political conditions prevailing in Eastern India were quite favourable to such an adventure. Bengal, in the first half of the eighth century A.D. and also in the next two decades, had been invaded by the kings of Kanauj, Kashmir, Tibet, Assam and even of Orissa in quick succession.[3] Secondly, the absence of a son to succeed Jayanta after him could have been a positive factor in paving the subsequent rise of the Pālas. Thirdly, the details of Jayāpiḍa's escapades in 'Pañcha Gauḍa' regions are so detailed that they could hardly be brushed aside. Fourthly, Kalhaṇa makes Devaśarman follow Jayāpīḍa shortly with a large force into Bengal which suggests that Jayāpīḍa went to Bengal with a very small and select band of followers, married the beautiful daughter of a petty chief Jayanta by name, defeated the kings of the five Gauḍas, who no doubt laid down their arms in view of the approach of the army of Jayāpīḍa. As such, Kalhaṇa's description seems to be substantially true and may be doubted only in details.

Meanwhile, Devaśarman, the faithful minister and a worthy son of the illustrious Mitraśarman, had been able to collect and reorganize the leaderless forces of Jayāpīḍa and join the latter in Bengal.[4] Devaśarman soon prevailed upon his master to return back to Kashmir along with his wife and a consort (the latter being a dancing girl who had gained Jayāpīḍa's confidence and favour).[5]

Subjugation of Kanauj.

The return journey of Jayāpiḍa was not without thrills and battles.

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[1] Sen, B.C., *S.H.A.I.B.*, pp. 309-10.
[2] Sinha, B.P., *D.K.M.*, p. 321.
[3] *J.U.P.H.S.*, XIV, pts., I & II, pp. 63-70.
[4] *R.T.*, I, iv, 469.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 422-44.

Kānyakubja (Kanauj) was, at that time, ruled by a king who was hostile and Jayāpīḍa defeated him and also seized his royal throne.[1] Nothing definite is known about this king. Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son, Āma, as the Jain work *Prabhāvakacharita* would lead us to believe.[2] According to the same authority, he (Āma) was succeeded by Dunduka and his parricide son, Bhoja, but the Jain account is no doubt confused and misleading. Soon after Yaśovarman, Kanauj passed into the hands of the Āyudha dynasty. Three kings, Vajrāyudha, Indrāyudha and Chakrāyudha ruled at Kanauj during the latter half of the eighth century A. D. Since the historicity of these Āyudha kings is beyond doubt, it was proposed by Smith that Vajrāyudha was synchronous with Jayāpīḍa and defeated by the latter.[3] But Dr. Tripathi does not rule out the possibility of Indrāyudha being the discomfited ruler, as the event took place some three years after Jayāpīḍa's accession.[4] The Āyudha king defeated by Jayāpīḍa was, in all probability, Vajrāyudha in the light of the following.

Indrāyudha was a contemporary of Dharmapāla, the Pāla ruler, who had succeeded Gopāla in Bengal and had also invoked his (Dharmapāla's) help when the Rāshṭrakūṭas invaded Northern India.[5] He was also a contemporary of both Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II, who ultimately established the Gurjara-Pratīhāra hold on Kanauj. Had Indrāyudha been subdued by Jayāpīḍa, one would have heard of it in some of the epigraphic records of the age. Also, it is known that Indrāyudha was ruling at Kanauj in 783-84 A.D.[6] From this time onwards there was a continuous struggle between the Pālas and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras for supremacy in Northern India with occasional inroads of the Rāshtrakūṭas from the South, when the later Kārkoṭas had, it seems, lost their influence. Even assuming that Jayanta (the father-in-law of Jayāpīḍa) and Gopāla were one and the same person (as suspected by Ray), Jayāpīḍa, Gopāla and Vajrāyudha could be contemporaries and then Jayāpīḍa, Dharmapāla and Indrāyudha.[1] The contemporaneity of the latter two is beyond doubt on the evidence of epigraphic material which need not be detailed here. As such, Jayāpīḍa apparently defeated Vajrāyudha, who, probably very shortly after this defeat, was succeeded by Indrāyudha at Kanauj. Also, it may have been one of the reasons for the change in authority at Kanauj and the new monarch (i. e., Indrāyudha) sought the protection of Dharmapāla, as he was hemmed in on all sides from enemies – Pālas in the east, Gurjara-Pratīhāras in the west, Kashmir in the north and the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the south. Quite naturally, he looked upon the rising power of the Pālas for help, whose country, too, had suffered at the hands of the Kashmiri monarchs—Lalitāditya and Jayāpīḍa.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 471.

[2] Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 211.

[3] Smith, V.A., *E.H.I.*, p. 307; *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 787-88; Pires, E., *The Maukharis*, p. 157.

[4] Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 213.

[5] *Ibid.*; p. 214; Sinha, B.P., *D.K.M.*, p. 341.

[6] *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, stanza, 51.

Overthrow of the Usurper Jajja.

During the absence of Jayāpīḍa, the throne of Kashmir had been usurped by Jajja, his brother-in-law, as stated earlier. Evidently, the usurper was not a popular ruler, for Jayāpīḍa soon had a large number of followers, high and low, peasants, tribal and forest peoples.[2] Jajja, too, came forward with his followers and gave battle to Jayāpīḍa at Śushkaletra, but the issue was undecided.[3] Ultimately, Śrīdeva, a *chaṇḍāla*, succeeded in bringing down Jajja by a stone hurled from a sling and the forces of the latter took to flight.[4] Jajja had ruled for three years rather ingloriously and Jayāpiḍa was thus able to regain his paternal throne much to the satisfaction and delight of his subjects in the valley.[5]

Further Conquests and Adventures.

The irrepressible spirit of adventurism in Jayāpīḍa would not allow him to remain quiet for long and he set out to conquer a chieftain, Bhīmasena by name, on the eastern fringes of his territories.[6] It is needless to go into the exhaustive details of the campaign so lucidly penned by Kalhaṇa, but Jayāpīḍa was taken prisoner in the campaign after being identified by a brother of Jajja; but the latter subsequently got himself released by feigning illness and finally conquered the fortress after killing Bhīmasena.[1] Judging from the course of his further conquests, the fort must have been of considerable strategic importance to Jayāpīḍa.

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[1] Ray, H.C., *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 278, fn.
[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 474-75.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 473.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 475-76.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 477 ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 59.

Invasion of Nepal.

Emboldened by his success against Bhīmasena, Jayāpīḍa marched into the kingdom of Nepal which, according to the Chronicle, was ruled by a king named Aramuḍi.[2] Kalhaṇa's account makes him a capable, cunning and powerful ruler, who, in the initial stages of the conflict, retreated further and further within his territories without offering any stiff resistance. Jayāpīḍa gradually subdued many of Aramuḍi's feudatories (*anu-āriṇaḥ*).[3] For a time, Aramuḍi could claim some security by luring the attacker far into his own land, but soon realised that the subjugation of his feudal chiefs, one by one, boded ill for his own future.[4] Therefore, he arrayed his forces on the other side of the river Kālagaṇḍikā which was then in floods. Jayāpīḍa, too, soon arrived at the other bank and, finding his enemy encamped on the opposite side, ordered his forces to cross the river with himself in the fore-front. The attempt met with disaster as most of his troops were drowned in the swift and swirling currents of the flooded river and he was taken prisoner by Aramuḍi.[5] The latter placed him under care of loyal and trusted warders in a stone-fortress somewhere on the banks of the same river.[6] Thus, for some time Jayāpīḍa languished in the prison cell and occupied himself in composing verses full of pathos and reflecting his condition behind the bars.[7]

The account of his subsequent escape from the prison, the supreme sacrifice made by his minister, Devaśarman, to that effect, his victory over the king of Nepal and the conquest of a certain '*strīrājya*' (kingdom ruled by a woman i.e., a queen) has been vividly described by Kalhaṇa and reads like a romance.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 521-29.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 531.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 533.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 534.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 541-44.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 546.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 550.

Stein and Smith have doubted the historicity of the entire account of Jayāpīḍa's invasion of Nepal.[1] On the other hand, Jayaswal observes that the 'episode has been unnecessarily disbelieved by V. Smith. The very details and circumstantial and internal evidence furnished by Kalhaṇa affirm the truth of the account.'[2] The controversy could, however, be satisfactorily resolved if the identity of Aramuḍi, the king of Nepal, were reasonably established along with certain other details pertinent to the problem as found in the narrative of Kalhaṇa. Aramuḍi has so far not been properly identified. Prof. S. Levi took him to have been a Tibetan king, but the Tibetans and their land were quite well known to the Kashmiris and Kalhaṇa could not possibly have committed such a serious mistake. The same learned scholar admitted that the name of that king did not figure in the Nepal *Vaṁśāvalīs* and this very possibly led him to believe that Aramuḍi was a Tibetan king. But the savant lost sight of the fact that Jayāpīḍa invaded Nepal and not Tibet, as the details of the rivers, forts, etc., in the narrative are clearly suggestive of that country (Nepal). As such, it is not possible to uphold his suggestion. It is quite true that Tibet wielded considerable influence over Nepal during this period but independent kings of Nepal are also heard of in several epigraphs besides the Nepal *Vaṁśāvalī*.[3]

Dr. Jayaswal identified Aramuḍi with king Varadeva of Nepal who ruled some time in-between 771-84 A. D. and was an early contemporary of Jayāpīḍa.[4] According to him, the first part of his name 'Vara' changed into 'Ara'. This Varadeva had renounced the throne for some time, entered a Buddhist monastery as a monk and came to rule a second time. The learned scholar put forth certain novel arguments; Varadeva, as a monk, had, of necessity, to become shaven-headed (*muṇḍita*) (even today *mūḍī* in some local dialects means head). As such, he arrived at the conclusion that Aramuḍi was the nickname of the monk-king (Varadeva). The suggestion, though novel and unique, is not very convincing in view of the fact that the reign of Varadeva terminated some time in 784 A. D.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, p. 95; Smith, V. A., *E. H. I.*, p. 387.

[2] Jayaswal, K. P., *J. B. O.R.S.*, XXII, pt. iii, p. 251.

[3] Cf. Sinha, B. P., *D. K. M.*, p. 302 ff; Jayaswal, K. P., *J. B. O. R. S.*, XXII, pt. iii, pp. 202, 251.

[4] Jayaswal, K. P., *J. B. O. R. S.*, XXII, pt. iii, pp. 253-54.

But the invasion of Nepal by Jayāpīḍa can only be placed after that date and not before it. Jayāpīḍa, after ascending the throne some time in 779 A. D., went away to Gauḍa deśa and returned back to Kashmir after three years (i. e., 782-783 A. D.). For a time, as the Chronicle suggests, he was busy in administrative affairs, artistic activities and also in literary pursuits.[1] As such, it would hardly be plausible to accept Dr. Jayaswal's views unless it is conceded that he set forth on his second conquering expedition immediately after regaining the throne from Jajja.

Dr. Regmi has come forward with the suggestion that Jayāpīḍa's adversary in Nepal was Jayadeva II, the Lichchhavi king, whose exploits against the Kashmiri invader also fit into the scheme of his proposed chronology.[2] There are, however, some strong grounds to uphold this suggestion. The Lichchhavis had been rulers in the *terai* areas of Indo-Nepalese borders for centuries and the mention of a fort at the river Kālagaṇḍikā is of considerable import. The river is undoubtedly Kali Gandak of our times and flows through the *terai* regions of both Nepal and India. Stein has taken the word *dakshiṇa* to mean 'opposite', whereas in this context it should clearly refer to the southern side beyond (*pāre*) the river.[3] It would, therefore, be proper to suggest that Aramuḍi (or Jayadeva?) was quite prepared, in the event of the battle going against him, to cross into the Indo-Nepalese *terai* areas of U. P. and Bihar where he could expect some help from the remnants of the Maukharis and the Guptas to whom he was related albeit distantly.[4]

In so far as the historicity of the expedition is concerned, it need not be doubted. The capture and escape through deceitful means, the supreme sacrifice of life by an illustrious and faithful minister and the ignominy suffered by his hero—Jayāpīḍa—are apparently recorded by Kalhaṇa with an eye on truth, for no such jealous a champion of his country and his people could have penned these facts otherwise.

Jayāpīḍa also introduced certain administrative reforms and innovations. A high office of justice (*dharmādhikaraṇa*) together with its accommo-

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1. Cf. *R.T.*, I, iv, 514.
2. Regmi, D. R., *Ancient and Mediaeval Nepal*, p. 123.
3. *R.T.*, I, iv, 537 (Stein).
4. *I. A.*, IX, pp. 178-81. (Inscription No. 15, which states that Jayadeva's mother Vatsadevī, was a daughter of Maukhari Bhogavarman).

dating establishments or buildings are credited to him by the Chronicler and these latter were adorned with the flags won from the '*strīrājya*', the conquest of which has already been referred to.[1] Another innovation was that of mobile treasuries (*chalagañja*), which was created to meet expenses when expeditions were led to places distant from the capital.[2] Possibly, through this device, large sums of money were transported from the treasury at the capital to smaller treasuries established at considerable distances either on elephant-backs or on chariots and kept ready for disbursement. He bestowed upon his able minister, Jayadatta, the high title of *pañchamahāśabda*, which had earlier been conferred upon Mitraśarman by his grandfather, Lalitāditya.[3] According to the Chronicle, chiefs from distant places were appointed on their merits to responsible offices at the capital, as evident from the appointment of Pramoda, a petty ruler from Mathura, to the high office of royal-chamberlain.[4] As a gesture of affection and recognition, Jayāpīḍa raised the status of his queen Kalyāṇadevī by bestowing upon her the title of *Mahāpratīhārapīḍā*, (perhaps this being the first instance of a lady being so honoured in recorded history).[5]

Tyrannies and Oppressions.

Towards the latter part of his reign, Jayāpīḍa, according to Kalhāṇa, turned a tyrant and thought of enriching the royal treasuries through heavy and extortionate taxation.[6] This turning point in his career seems to have occurred after his breach of etiquette with some legendary Nāga Mahāpadma, and the story is related at great length in the Chronicle.[7]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 588. One might differ from Stein in the translation of this verse. His translation runs thus: 'And he established the office called *Dharmādhikaraṇa*—"administration of justice".' *Adhikaraṇa* no doubt means office but the poet has also used the word '*karmasthāna*' and in-between 'cha'. This leads us to the surmise that Kalhaṇa had in mind both an office of justice as well as its secretariat which housed allied offices (*karmasthāna*).

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 589.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 512.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 513.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 485.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 620 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 592-615.

Little credence can be placed on the story but it seems that Jayāpīḍa, acting upon the advice of some Kāyastha officials, levied and exacted very heavy taxes to the disgust of his subjects.[1] Even the Brāhmaṇas and the learned were victims of this change in the king.[2] He even tried to confiscate *agrahāras*, but desisted from doing so when 99 Brāhmaṇas committed mass suicide by drowning themselves.[3] The unrest in the country was further aggravated by the conduct of his revenue officers who fleeced the masses to fill in their own money-chests and deposited in the treasury only a 'fraction of what they realized'.[4] According to Kalhaṇa, the curse of a Brāhmaṇa was responsible for his death after a rule of 31 years.[5]

Jayāpīḍa, as portrayed by Kalhaṇa, was a unique personality—a queer mixture of opposites, brave to the point of recklessness, learned and promotor of learning on the one hand, and cruel, avaracious and scant respecter of public opinion in his later days on the other. While the early years of his reign promised the same palmy days as those of Lalitāditya, the later years turned into the pattern of his father and contributed greatly towards the downfall and unpopularity of the Kārkoṭas.

Coins of Jayāpīḍa.

There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the coins said to have been issued by Jayāpīḍa.[6] According to some, two types of coins can be attributed to him whereas others are inclined to hold only one type as issued by Jayāpīḍa. Of these, the Vinayāditya type is unanimously accepted by all, as the *āditya* title is supported by the Chronicle itself.[7] The other, known as *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* type, has been a matter of controversy.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 621.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 633.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 638-39.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 629.

[5] Kalhaṇa has related a story about the death of Jayāpīḍa. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 638-56.

[6] Dayal, Prayag, *J.A.S.B.*, XXIV, (Numis. Supp.), (1928) pp. 6-9; Agrawala, V.S., *J.N.S.I.*, X, Pt. I, (1949), p. 31; Altekar, A.S., *ibid.*, X, p. 34 ff.

[7] *R.T.*, I, iv, 517.

Śrī-ja-Pratāpa type of coins were for the first time found in the Banda hoard and was also noticed subsequently in the Rajghat hoard (Varanasi).[1] In his note on the Banda hoard, Prayag Dayal attributed these coins to Jajja, the usurper brother-in-law of Jayāpīḍa, who ruled the valley for three years. His arguments, in brief, were that usurpers are known to have issued coins in their own names and that Jajja dared not 'issue coins in his own name openly; so he issued coins in the name of the recent illustrious emperor of Kashmir, Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya, and inserted his initial letter in the legend, changing it to *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa*'.[2] This suggestion is supported by the instance of Diodotus, a governor of Seleukos, who added his own monogram to the coins of the latter.

Dr. Agrawala did not commit himself on the *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* type of coins while dealing with the only specimen of this type in the Rajghat hoard; apparently, he treated them as issued by Lalitāditya.[3] Altekar, however, refuted the suggestions of Prayag Dayal and offered an altogether different interpretation which may be summed up as below.

Controverting Prayag Dayal's ascription of this type of coins to Jajja, Dr. Altekar found it very strange that these coins were to be found both at Banda and Rajghat, whereas no specimen of it had been found in Kashmir where it naturally should have been. Thus, he argued that Jajja could not possibly have issued this type. Again, Uttar Pradesh could not have been under the rule of that usurper, for the Kashmir empire had already shrunken during the period covered by the death of Lalitāditya and the accession of Jayāpīḍa (which factor was in all probability responsible for the latter's bid to emulate the exploits of Lalitāditya). According to him, these *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* type of coins were issued by Jayāpīḍa while he was assisting his grandfather, Lalitāditya, during the course of the latter's expedition against Kanauj. This suggestion was advanced in view of the fact that both these types were found in the Banda hoard. To him, therefore, it was 'clear that *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* coins were not issued during the reign of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya as the emperor of Kashmir'.[4] He also suggested the probability of Jayāpīḍa being appointed governor of Eastern U.P. by his victorious grandfather.[1]

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[1] *J.A.S.B.*, XXIV, (Numis. Supp.) p. 7; *J.N.S.I.*, X, pt. i, p. 31-33.

[2] *J.N.S.I.*, X, pt. i, p. 35.

[3] *Ibid.*, X, pt. i, p. 31.

[4] *Ibid.*, X, pt. i, p. 36.

It would seem that the balance of evidence is partially in favour of Dr. Altekar's view. In case one was to uphold Prayag Dayal's suggestion and ascribe the *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* coins to Jajja, he would, besides allowing for the doubts raised by Altekar, have to admit that the usurper Jajja also adopted the *Āditya* title of Pratāpāditya, which is not supported by the Chronicle. Again, this cannot satisfactorily explain away the presence of this type of coins in the Banda and Rajghat hoards; the former may represent 'part of the treasures Lalitāditya carried for the maintenance of his forces which progressed triumphantly eastwards to Gauḍa and other regions'.[2] Also, Jajja, from all indications in the Chronicle, did not hold sway over U.P. But Dr. Altekar has suggested a chronology of Kashmiri kings from Lalitāditya to Jayāpīḍa which is quite incompatible with that maintained by other scholars and also followed herein. As such, the following emendations to Dr. Altekar's theory may be suggested.

The learned scholar has argued that Lalitāditya was greatly impressed by the chivalrous and adventurous spirit of Jayāpīḍa and, very possibly, made the latter his viceroy of his eastern dominions.[3] But the consensus amongst scholars is that Jayāpīḍa came to the throne some time in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. (*c.* 779 A.D.). It may, therefore, be suggested that *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* coins were issued by Lalitāditya himself to commemorate some very signal event or an auspicious occasion. Very probably, Lalitāditya's campaign in the Gangetic valley coincided with the birth of Jayāpīḍa, his grandson, which event was commemorated by that emperor by the issue of these coins. A somewhat parallel example from the annals of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty may be cited here; King

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[1] *J.N.S.I.*, X, pt. i, p. 37. It may be pointed out here that the chronology of the kings of Kashmir from Lalitāditya to Jayāpīḍa, as suggested by Dr. Altekar in his paper, is unacceptable for many reasons. He places the reign of Jayāpīḍa in between *c.* 752-783 A.D., which would make him a near contemporary of Yaśovarman, whose last date, according to Dr. Tripathi (and generally accepted by others) is *c.* 752 A.D. If the three years of Jajja's reign are excluded Jayāpīḍa should have succeeded in 749 A.D. for the first time, which is least probable.

[2] Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 204.

[3] *J.N.S.I.*, X, pt. i, p. 37 ff.

Govindachandra of Kanauj conquered Daśārṇa (Eastern Malwa) on the very day of the birth of his grandson, Jayachandra.[1] Now Jaya (victory), the first part of the name of Jayāpīḍa, lends more colour and support to this suggestion, as this may be taken to indicate the signal victory over Yaśovarman. As such, *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* type of coins, as pointed out by Altekar and treated by Agrawala, were, no doubt, issued by Lalitāditya but, as suggested herein, were meant, to commemorate the birth of his grandson, Jayāpīḍa, which coincided with his victory in the plains of Uttar Pradesh.

Decline of the Kārkoṭas.

It has already been noticed that Jayāpīḍa, during the latter part of his reign, caused discontent amongst his subjects through vicious and tyrannical exactions. It is quite apparent from the Chronicle that the monarch played into the hands of a set of revenue officers who were more prone towards lining their own pockets than enriching the royal treasuries.[2] For some time, the people, as can be expected, bore the brunt of his heavy taxations, keeping in mind his earlier exploits, but when his hand fell heavily on *agrahāras* and other religious endowments, there seems to have been a minor Brahmaṇical remonstrance (and the king died rather ignominiously). But the misfortunes of the country were not yet over, as he was succeeded by a string of licentious and weak rulers who, far from redeeming the fallen prestige of the Kārkoṭa house, hastened its eclipse.

Lalitāpīḍa.

Jayāpīḍa was succeeded by his son, Lalitāpīḍa, born of his queen Durgādevī.[3] The new king was a weak ruler of licentious habits and squandered the ill-gotten treasures of his father on parasites and women of easy virtue.[4] The administrative machinery became loose and the new king took no heed of sane advice. On the contrary, he made competent officials suffer humiliation in many ways, so much so that one of them relinquished his office in sheer disgust.[5] After a rule of 12 inglorious years,

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[1] Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 53.
[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 629.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 660.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 662.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 667-71.

Lalitāpīḍa breathed his last and his brother, Saṅgrāmāpīḍa II, succeeded him.[1]

Saṅgrāmapīḍa II.

Lalitāpīḍa was succeeded by his half-brother, Saṅgrāmāpīḍa II, born of queen Kalyāṇadevī.[2] Nothing is known about him except that he also bore the name of Pṛithivyāpīḍa and ruled for 7 inconsequential years.[3] Evidently, he was unable to arrest the decline of the dynasty during his short reign.

Chippaṭajayāpīḍa.

Saṅgrāmāpiḍa II was succeeded by Chippaṭajayāpīḍa, also known as Bṛihaspati, and a son of Lalitāpīḍa from his concubine Jayādevī, who came of a family of spirit-distillers (*Kalyapāla*).[4] Since he was a minor, the affairs of the state were looked after by his maternal uncles and his mother.[5] During the period of this regency, the royal treasury was systematically looted by the cunning regents, cleverest among them, Utpalaka by name, chose for himself the highest honour (*pañchamahāśabda*) and conferred upon his brothers other high titles.[6] Being ambitious, the regents managed to kill Chippaṭajayāpīḍa after a brief rule of 12 years and were soon themselves involved in a struggle for supremacy.[7]

Struggle for Power and Ajitāpīḍa.

Henceforth the history of the valley, till the firm establishment of the Utpala dynasty, is a continuous struggle for supreme authority, the principal actors in the drama being the five regents who had managed to seize and concentrate all power amongst themselves. Jealous of each other, they found it expedient to seat Ajitāpīḍa on the throne, who served as a convenient screen for their designs and machinations. According to show enough respect to the Brāhmaṇas, but one may safely look on such pointers as the author's partiality towards them.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 673.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 674.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 675.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 676-78.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 679.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 680.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 687-88.

Another noteworthy contribution of the Kārkoṭas in the politics of the times was their desire and endeavour to establish and maintain friendly relations with foreign countries, as related above. Also, their contributions in the spheres of art and literature cannot be left out, for many kings of this dynasty were responsible for the foundation and embellishment of numerous cities, palaces, temples and works of public utility and welfare.

Thus, though the power and fame of the rulers of the valley reached its zenith during the rule of the Kārkoṭas, the rather inglorious rule of the later rulers, who proved mere weaklings, brought about the dissipation of the royal family and its pristine glory. Given to pleasure-seeking, they turned tyrants and were themselves promoters of court intrigues through their favourites. Events of far-reaching consequences were happening in the neighbouring countries and only Lalitāditya seems to have realised their importance. Lacking in political vision and wisdom, his successors, could not rise to the occasion and the empire fell to pieces.

6

THE RISE OF THE UTPALAS

The subsequent years after the death of Jayāpīḍa ushered in an era of distress, oppression and spirit of self-aggrandisement amongst officers of the state which, unhappily for the people of Kashmir, continued unbridled during the rule of his successors. The Kārkoṭas, who had brought peace and prosperity to that part of the country, finished ingloriously, as noticed earlier. Given to worst human weaknesses, the subsequent rulers allowed free reins to their officers and favourites with the result that the people were drained dry of all their wealth. There was no security of life and property, the vast dominions, earned at great costs of men and money, had shrunken and the feudal lords as well as enterprising men were strengthening themselves; there was utter disregard of affairs and happenings on the borderlands and the pleasure-seeking rulers had no political vision and were impervious towards events of far-reaching consequences happening all around them. Ultimately, the minister Śūra was able to seat Avantivarman, grandson of Utpalaka, who, incidentally, was the founder of a new dynasty after the name of his grandfather, in Kashmir.[1]

Avantivarman.

The advent of Avantivarman at the helm of affairs in the valley heralded a new era in the history of that country. His reign not only brought relief to the suffering masses of Kashmir but also restored, to a great extent, the glory of the Kārkoṭas, as shall be noticed. It has been stated earlier that, Avantivarman was a scion of the family of *Kalyapāla* and grandson of Utpalak, who had played a fateful role in the closing years of the Kārkoṭa rule.[2] Though by no means a descendant of some noble and illustrious family, Avantivarman possessed such qualities of head and heart for which he can be ranked as one of the ablest rulers of the valley.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 715.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 677, 679, 708, 715.

Avantivarman came to the throne in *c.* 855 A. D. with the help of Śūra, his step-brother and also a minister, as noted earlier. Though his reign is devoid of the glamour of foreign conquests or acquisition of fresh territories like those of the mighty Kārkoṭas, yet he was successful in establishing order, stability and peace in the valley.

Influence of Śūra.

It is indeed a commendable page in the history of Kashmir that the ruler and the minister, Śūra, maintained cordial relations between themselves.[2] The latter gave his unstinted support to the king at the cost of his personal likings and blood-relations, even sacrificing his own son—a thing rare in the annals of any country.[3]

Achievements of Avantivarman.

The later Kārkoṭa rulers had not only exploited people and robbed them of all their wealth, but had also left them at the mercy of their selfish and exacting officers who had fleeced the masses for their own gains. At the same time, there was no organized force or an equipped army to aspire for territorial gains. Amid such conditions, Avantivarman's first and foremost task was to gain the confidence of the people through an organized machinery of government which could restore normalcy in the valley and look after the interest of the masses—a task that had been neglected for many decades by the earlier rulers. Kalhaṇa devotes some (10) verses to sum up his attitude towards his subjects.[4]

Avantivarman's first task was to look for more arable land, as its shortage had deep effects upon the economy of the country. Also, the valley had been ravaged by the floods of Mahāpadma lake whose waters were formerly drained out through suitable channels during the days of Lalitāditya and which had also provided some land fit for cultivation. These outlets had been neglected during the reigns of the later Kārkoṭa rulers and had remained blocked for years by boulders which had not been removed. To add to these misfortunes, the country had been visited by a great famine.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 714-18. Kalhaṇa does not make any attempt to conceal this fact.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, v, 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 47, 58.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 7-17.

Fortunately, one Suyya of uncertain lineage and brought up by a Śūdra woman, caught the attention of the king and was able to come to the rescue of the people.[2] Suyya insisted that, given an opportunity and means to carry out his scheme, he could relieve the sufferings of the people.[3] Avantivarman was impressed by his confident tone and allowed him free reins to carry out his plan of clearing the Vitastā of its boulders. The Chronicler has given a graphic account of his schemes.[4] Soon the bed of the river was cleared and a dam constructed for storing its waters for agricultural purposes.[5] Suyya also planned the confluence of the Sindhu (Indus) and Vitastā (Jhelum) near Srinagar which had their junction near the temple of Vainyasvāmī.[6] The collected waters of the river were allowed to different villages for irrigational purposes through minor streams and these were rendered safe through embankments constructed at suitable distances.[7] These and food-grain storehouses (*Kuṇḍalas*)[8] established at a number of places brought immediate relief to the people who had now more land at their disposal to cultivate with assured supplies of water. Suyya indeed deserves the high praises heaped upon him in the Chronicle for his untiring efforts.[9] Prices of food-grains, which had rocketed as high as 1,050 *dīnnāras* per *khāri* during the days of the famine, fell startlingly from 200 *dīnnāras* to 36 *dīnnāras* per *khāri*.[10] Thus the engineering dexterity and genius of Suyya was fully utilized by Avantivarman and the valley was once more on the way to prosperity.

Avantivarman gave proof of his political wisdom by associating his near relatives in administration. This step, more or less, lessened the

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1. *R. T.*, I, v, 68-71.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 72.
3. *Ibid.*, I, v, 80.
4. *Ibid.*, I, v, 84-90.
5. *Ibid.*, I, v, 91, 95.
6. *Ibid.*, I, v, 97-98.
7. *Ibid.*, I, v, 103-04.
8. *Ibid.*, I, v, 106.
9. *Ibid.*, I, v, 103-04.
10. *Ibid.*, I, v, 71, 113, 116-17.

probabilities of revolts by his own kith and kin. His step-brother, Sūravarman, was styled *Yuvarāja*, whereas his two nephews, Dhīra and Vinnapa, were entrusted with important offices in the accounts section.[1] Subsequently, he granted certain royal prerogatives to Sūra and his sons.[2]

Rebellion of Dhanva Ḍāmara.

The only disturbance in his long and peaceful reign seems to have been that of a Ḍāmara chief, Dhanva by name.[3] It appears from the Chronicle that the latter was in the good books of the minister Śūra and had appropriated income of the villages granted by the king to the temple of Bhūteśa.[4] Dhanva, however, was beheaded at the instance of the minister himself and his militia easily disbanded.[5]

Avantivarman was also noted for his munificence which was not confined to the Brāhmaṇas alone but was also lavished on the poor, the needy, the faithful and the relatives.[6] Emulating Meghavāhana, he had prohibited animal slaughter throughout his kingdom for 10 years.[7]

Having ruled the valley peacefully for a little more than 28 years, Avantivarman breathed his last at the mountains of Tripureśvara (modern Triphar) in *c.* 883 A.D.[8] He was a devoted Vaishṇava and died listening to a recitation of the *Bhagavadgitā*.[9] According to Vaidya, this probably is the first instance in recorded history of the *Gītā* being used as a book of religious recitation.[10] Yet he was liberal in his religious outlook and also honoured Śiva. His qualities have been extolled by Kalhaṇa who compares him with Māndhātā.[11] Though his reign was devoid of the glamour of territorial conquests, he proved an able ruler and real founder of the glory of the Utpala house.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 22, 26-27.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, v, 42.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 51ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 51.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 52-60.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 18.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, v, 64-65; see also iii, 79.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, v, 123, (Stein's note), 126.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, v, 125.

[10] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, p. 222.

[11] *R.T.*, I, v, 122.

Śaṅkaravarman (*c*. 883-902 A.D.)

The death of Avantivarman, like that of many a ruler of the valley, was followed by a war of succession in which two rivals aspired for the throne. Śaṅkaravarman, son of Avantivarman, ascended the throne and his cause was espoused by the royal chamberlain, Ratnavardhana, and many others.[1] The other claimant to the throne was Sukhavarman, son of Śūravarman, the latter having been raised to the status of a *yuvarāja* by Avantivarman during his life-time. It may safely be assumed that Śūravarman was dead by this time as his son, and not he himself, was a claimant to the royal throne.[2] The cause of Sukhavarman was championed by Karṇapa, a councillor-associate of Vinnapa, and the former had proclaimed Sukhavarman as *yuvarāja*.[3] It is easy to comprehend that the officers of the state played major roles in this war of succession by aligning themselves with the two rivals. Śaṅkaravarman had further strengthened his position by contracting matrimony with Sugandhā, daughter of the Darad ruler Siṁharāja.[1] The trial of strength was not between Śaṅkaravarman and Sukhavarman but, in reality, between Ratnavardhana and Karṇapa, respectively. It appears that the followers of Śaṅkaravarman were offered many temptations, but their devotion to the latter was steadfast and he was able to overcome all opposition by inflicting a crushing defeat upon Sukhavarman and his supporters after several engagements.[2] According to *Āgamaḍambara* or *Shaṇmatanāṭaka* written by Jaya Bhaṭṭa Śankaravarman was also known as Yaśovarman, which may have been his alias.[3]

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[1] It should, however, be noted here that the designation *pratīhāra* applied (in the *R.T.*) to Ratnavardhana does not denote his Pratīhāra or Gurjara-Pratīhāra lineage but his office or post. It is not possible to accept the suggestion of Munshi (*The Glory That was Gurjaradeśa*, Paperback ed., p. 112), who relates Ratnavardhana with the Imperial Pratīhāras, on the following grounds; firstly, Kashmir did not have any relations with the Imperial Gurjara-Pratīhāras nor is it known from any source that a member of this clan migrated to Kashmir. Secondly, Kashmir, during the reign of Avantivarman, was no mean a power and could not have countenanced any interference from the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. Thirdly, had Ratnavardhana belonged to that family, he would certainly have dissuaded Śaṅkaravarman from attacking his blood-relations in the Punjab, as has been discussed later. Fourthly, Kalhaṇa speaks of Ratnavardhana as *pratīhāra* (*R.T.*, v, 128) and in the following verse (v. 129) mentions the designation of Karṇapa who was an *amātya* of Vinnapa. All translators have, accordingly, interpreted the appellation *pratīhāra* as referring to the office of the royal chamberlain and there are thus no grounds to differ from them.

[2] The alternative suggestion of Wilson (*H.H.K.*, p. 61) that 'that office of *yuvarāja* conferred no title to the succession, and was held at pleasure' does not hold good in view of the fact that Śūravarman was not a claimant for the throne and that the office of *Yuvarāja* had also fallen vacant, to which his son, Sukhavarman was raised by his supporters. Both these facts were only possible when Śūravarman was dead. Therefore, it is justifiable to assume that Śūravarman was dead by that time and had, very possibly, predeceased Avantivarman.

[3] *R.T.*, I, v, 129.

Conquests.

Having stabilized his position on the throne, Śaṅkaravarman sought to emulate the exploits of Pravarasena, Lalitāditya and Jayāpīḍa.[4] It appears from the Chronicle that, earlier in his life, his father, Avantivarman, had trained him to bear all hardships and physical discomforts.[5] Soon he was at the head of a large army (the number--nine lakhs--seems exaggerated) and marched out on a conquering expedition.[6] Gradually, however, the numerical strength of his forces swelled up as the feudatories aligned themselves with him together with their forces.[7] Kalhaṇa furnishes an account of the numerous petty states subdued by him and Vaidya is of the opinion that the names of the kings and the countries conquered or subjugated during this expedition are of great importance to history.[8] Also, since some of these are, as shall be noticed, supported by epigraphic evidence of the times, the value of the Chronicle as a historical work is considerably augmented.

War against Dārvābhisāra.

Śaṅkaravarman proceeded first against the country of Dārvābhisāra

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1. *R.T.*, I, v, 157.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 132, 134.
3. Lallanji Gopal, *Early Medieaval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 18.
4. *R.T.*, I, v, 136.
5. *Ibid.*, I, v, 193-202.
6. *Ibid.*, I, v, 137.
7. *Ibid.*, I, v, 140.
8. Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, p. 222.

which lay below Pir Panjal and stretched towards the upper plains of the Punjab.[1] The ruler of these regions first sought refuge into the mountains but ultimately surrendered without any resistance. Another petty ruler, Harigaṇa, was overwhelmed and made prisoner.[2]

Victory over the Ruler of Trigarta.

Śaṅkaravarman next led his formidable forces against Pṛithvīchandra, ruler of Trigarta.[3] The latter had, earlier, offered his son as a hostage for reasons undisclosed in the Chronicle, and it may safely be presumed that he was a vassal chief.[4] It is quite possible that Pṛithvīchandra had formerly sympathised with the cause of Sukhavarman, an adversary of Śaṅkaravarman and pretender to the throne of Kashmir. Naturally, therefore Śaṅkaravarman had made demands on Pṛithvīchandra, who had offered his son as a hostage for good conduct. However, he had run away before Śaṅkaravarman could actually measure swords with him and the Kangra regions were annexed to the state.[5]

Victory over the Gurjara Chief in the Punjab.

While Śaṅkaravarman was marching down towards the plains of the Punjab, the Gurjara Pratīhāra dynasty had been firmly established at Kanauj. Mihira Bhoja, the most distinguished ruler of that dynasty, was a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman.[6] It appears from the Pehoa inscription that Mihira Bhoja had extended his suzerainty towards the Punjab and

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1. *R.T.*, I, v, 141.

Geographically, Dārvābhisāra comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Vitastā and the Chandrabhāgā. *Ibid.*, I, i, 180 (Stein's note).

2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 142.

It is not clear from the narrative of Kalhaṇa (v. 141-42) whether the ruler of Dārvābhisāra and Harigaṇa were one and the same person. If the verses are taken together, it may be inferred that Harigaṇa was the ruler of Dārvābhisāra and was taken prisoner while trying to escape from some hilly fort. Since the mountain setting serves as a breakground in both the verses, the suggestion cannot be resisted.

3. *Ibid.*, I, v, 143.
4. *Ibid.*, I, v, 145.
5. *Ibid.*, I, v, 146-47.
6. Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. ; Majumdar, R.C. *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 33, 116-17.

placed a feudatory, Alakhāna by name, to rule over those regions.[1] From the narrative of Kalhaṇa it appears that Bhoja had conquered these regions (the Ṭakkaland) from some Thakkiya chieftain.[2] The discomfited chief had sought refuge and service at the court of Śaṅkaravarman.[3]

It is also clear from the narrative that Alakhāna ruled or governed quite a large tract of land in the Punjab and, after his defeat, had to cede only the Ṭakka land, which the Gurjaras had seized from the Thakkiya chief.[4]

It is needless to go into the details of the relations between Alkhāna and Bhoja. According to Puri, Alakhāna 'had nothing to do with the imperial line at Kanauj' and was a feudatory of Bhoja.[5] Ray, however, interpreted the verses to show that there was an alliance between Bhoja and Alakhāna and Munshi took the latter to have been Bhoja's feudatory.[6] One might add here that the use of the connotation '*adhirāja*' for Bhoja is significant and, in a way, supports the subordinate status of Alakhāna. This conquest of Śaṅkaravarman must have taken place after 882-83 A.D. (i.e., the date of the Pehoa record in which Bhoja is extolled as a master of those regions), when Mihira Bhoja was either too old to retaliate, or was dead and had been succeeded by Mahendrapāla I.[7] The latter possibility has been suggested by Majumdar, according to whom Mahendrapāla I 'lost some territory in the Punjab, gained by his father, to Śaṅkaravarman, king of Kashmir'.[8]

According to Kalhaṇa, Alakhāna expected support from the Shāhi ruler Lalliya.[9] Earlier, Lalliya had sought to win some favour from Śaṅkaravarman and it is possible that, still hoping for it from the Kashmir king, he did not come to the rescue of Alakhāna. Another possibility is that he might have been too busy in his own affairs as his territories lay

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1. *R.T.*, I, v, 149; *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 170, 186-88.
2. *R.T.*, I, v, 151.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, I, v, 150.
5. Puri, B.N., *The Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, pp. 12, 57.
6. Munshi, K.M., *The Glory That Was Gurjaradeśa*, p. 119.
7. Puri, B.N., *The Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, p. 57; Munshi, K.M., *The Glory That Was Gurjaradeśa*, p. 112.
8. Majumdar, R.C., *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 33, cf. also, *ibid.*, pp. 116-17.
9. *R.T.*, I, v, 152-55.

between those of the Darads and the Turushkas. Śaṅkaravarman had married Sugandhā, daughter of the Darad chief, Svāmisena, and this matrimonial alliance must have deterred Lalliya from coming to the rescue of Alakhāna. Munshi, on the other hand, thinks that Śaṅkaravarman's success against Alakhāna took place in the reign of Mahendrapāla, successor of Mihira Bhoja, and that the former (Mahendrapāla) was at that time, busy in Bengal.[1]

These conquests of Śaṅkaravarman cannot, by any means, be compared with those of Lalitāditya or Jayāpīḍa, and can only be termed military adventures. Though, according to the Chronicle, he started with quite a sizable army, his successes were confined to the borderlands only. At the same time, the enormous cost at which these expeditions were led did not bring any monetary gains and depleted the treasury which factor subsequently turned him into a tyrant.[2]

Atrocities of Śaṅkaravarman.

It is easy to understand that Śaṅkaravarman was an ambitious monarch and more of a dreamer and wished to emulate the exploits of the illustrious Kārkoṭas. Avantivarman had restored economic stability in the valley to a great measure, but Śaṅkaravarman exhausted the royal treasury on military preparations as well as in extravagance. Unable to edify his newly-founded city of Śaṅkarapura, he had to rob Parihāsapura of its embellishments.[3] He also levied new taxes and did not spare even temples whose main sources of income were charities and public benefactions.[4] These fresh taxes were realised with severe strictness and he also created two new offices—those of *aṭṭapatibhāga* and *gṛihakṛitya* for controlling domestic affairs.[5] Even articles like incense, sandal-wood and others used in worship were not exempted.[6] Certain extraordinary measures like reduction of weights and measures by one-third were introduced and the masses had to undergo severe hardships.[1] Even the remonstrations of the crown prince, Gopālavarman, were of no avail and the officials—Kāyasthas—misappropriated much of the royal income.[2]

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[1] Munshi, K.M., *op. cit.*, I, pp. 112, 119.

[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 620-21 ; v, 165.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 156, 161.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 165ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 167. For explanation of the terms *aṭṭapatibhāga* and *gṛihakṛitya*, see chapter on Administration.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 169.

End of Śaṅkaravarman.

Such a state of affairs was not conducive of any creative or literary activity and there was marked cultural decline during the reign of Śaṅkaravarman. The people groaned under the weight of heavy taxations and illegal extortions by Kāyastha officials. The king would not associate himself with men of learning and eminence for fear of handing them out rewards and was always surrounded by a band of flatterers. The affairs were so bad that the eminent Sanskrit acholar, Bhallaṭa, had to accept a job much below his dignity for his livelihood.[3] While men of culture, breeding and learning went without adequate remunerations and jobs, ordinary officials, even load-carriers, were getting astounding salaries.[4] Sanskrit gave way to *apabhraṁśa* and cultivation of literature was totally neglected.[5]

Towards the closing years of his reign, Śaṅkaravarman treacherously murdered the ruler of Dārvābhisāra, Naravāhana by name.[6] There was general discontent among the people and one of his officers, a relative of his favourite minister Sukharāja, was killed at Vīrānaka, the modern village of Viran, on the north-west.[7] Angered, the king himself proceeded towards the northern regions (*uttarāpatha*) and vented his wrath upon its inhabitants. After gaining some victories against petty chiefs on the banks of the Indus, he proceeded towards Uraśā, where he was struck by an arrow in the neck and died shortly after, though, for reasons of safety, his

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1. *R.T.*, I, v, 171.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 193-203.
3. *Ibid.*, I, v, 204.

Bhallaṭa is known as the author of *Bhallaṭa Śataka* and the dictionary *Padmamañjarī* (see Pandit's note).

4. *Ibid.*, I, v, 205.
5. *Ibid.*, I, v, 206 (see Pandit's note).
6. *Ibid.*, I, v, 209. Probably this Naravāhana belonged to the Lohara family (Stein's note).
7. Here '*dvāra*' signifies '*draṅga*', a watch-station on the frontiers mentioned in the Chronicle very often (*ibid.*, I, v, 214, Stein's note).

death was announced later after the forces accompanying him had returned from those regions.[1] He was soon forgotten and even the name of the city founded by him was changed to Pattana shortly afterwards.[2]

Gopālavarman (*c.* 902-04 A.D.).

Gopālavarman, yet a minor, was proclaimed king after the death of his father, Śaṅkaravarman, and was placed under the regency of his mother Sugandhā, an ambitious lady.[3] Young Gopālavarman held out promise of a just and benevolent king but he could not exert himself against his regent mother, who had now bestowed her affections on Prabhākaravarman, a minister.[4] This intimacy between the two turned the head of Prabhākara who became arrogant and an oppressive administrator, often insulting the courtiers and high officials of the state. The frontiers of the valley were neglected and there was a general discontent in the defence forces.[5] Court-intrigues, depletion of treasury and neglect of the armed forces worsened the situation. Amid such circumstances arose the power of the Tantrins.

Rise of the Tantrins.

The Tantrins were a band of people organized militarily and played the same role in the history of Kashmir as the 'Praetorian Guards' of the Roman empire or the Turks under the Caliphs of Baghdad. Rapidly, they rose to such supreme power that, thenceforth, their favour and support virtually decided the succession to the Kashmir throne. Hereafter, a marked change into the affairs of the valley is to be noticed in which bribery, corruption, sons rising against their parents and maladministration figure prominently. Later, however, their power and hold was considerably lessened by the rise of another military organization during the reign of the succeeding dynasty, as shall be subsequently noticed.

Gopālavarman was completely overshadowed by his regent-mother, Sugandhā, and her paramour-minister and the two were controlling the administrative machinery.[1] Matters came to such a climax that, out of infatuation for Prabhākaravarman, the queen vested in him all the powers of the state.[2]

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[1] *R. T.*, I, v, 215-16, 222.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, v, 213.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 228.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 230.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 235.

Shāhi Rebellion.

Early in the reign of Gopālavarman, a Shāhi chief, finding a minor on the throne of Kashmir and taking advantage of the situation, rose into rebellion.[3] The queen-regent, whatever her faults, rose to the occasion and, fearing that other subordinates might also behave likewise, sent Prabhākaravarman to crush the rebellion. The latter inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Shāhi rebel chief, who was dethroned and Toramāṇa (also known as Kamaluka and a son of Lalliya), was placed on the Shāhi throne.[4]

The circumstances under which Toramāṇa sought shelter at the court of Kashmir (whose king was an enemy of his father) need explanation. According to Ganguly, Śaṅkaravarman could not gain success against Lalliya Shāhi but, after the latter's death, the Shāhi throne was usurped by Sāmanta, also a scion of the same family. The same scholar also brings to notice certain coins found in Afghanistan bearing the legend '*Śrī Sāmantadeva*'.[5] Consequently, Toramāṇa sought shelter at the Kashmir court and requested for help. According to Vaidya, Lalliya was defeated by Śaṅkaravarman who placed Sāmanta on the Shāhi throne.[6] Later, after the death of Śaṅkaravarman and during the period of regency, Sāmanta was emboldened to shake off the allegiance of Kashmir but was defeated by Prabhākara. Subsequently, the latter placed Toramāṇa on the Shāhi throne at Udabhāṇḍa (Und) and gave him the new name Kamaluka. It may be noted here that Śaṅkaravarman is credited with some victories in territories around the banks of the Indus and, as the Chronicle informs us, wanted to remove Lalliya 'from his sovereign position'.[1] Now Udabhāṇḍa lay on the western bank of that river and it is quite probable that Vaidya's suggestion might be true.[2]

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[1] Bazaz, P. N., *Daughters of Vitastā*, p. 25.

[2] *R.T.*, I, v, 231.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 232-33, 237.

[4] Alberuni, *India*, II, p. 13; *R.T.*, I, v, 232-33 (Stein's note).

[5] Majumdar, R. C., *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 112, cf. also Lallanji Gopal; *Early Medieval Coin—Types of Northern India*, p. 71.

[6] Vaidya, C. V., *H.M.H.I.*, I, p. 194.

Death of Gopālavarman.

For some time, Prabhākaravarman gained popularity because of his successful handling of the revolt of the Shāhis. But, within a very short period, he began misusing his powers and embezzled the royal treasures.[3] Gopālavarman soon came to learn of his intimacy with his mother and also of the misuse of royal treasures and demanded an explanation from Prabhākaravarman. The minister pleaded that the money had been spent on the Shāhi expedition which, however, did not satisfy the king.[4] Fearing that the king might resolve to get rid of him, Prabhākara managed to get the king killed with the help of Rāmadeva, a relation of his. Thus ended the nominal rule of Gopālavarman after he had been on the throne for only two years.[5]

Saṅkaṭa (904 A.D).

After Gopālavarman, the crown of Kashmir passed on to Saṅkaṭa (varman) who had so far lived in complete anonymity. But he seems to have had a brief stay of merely 10 days on the throne.[6] Thereafter, at the request of her subjects, Sugandhā herself assumed all authority and began to rule as queen.

Sugandhā (904-06 A.D.).

Since there was none in the direct line of descent from Śaṅkaravarman, Sugandhā, as seen above, was proclaimed queen by popular choice.[7] The lady, despite her weakness of character, had earlier given proof of foresight and capability in her handling of the Shāhi rebellion. Earlier, she had also accompanied her husband on military expeditions.[1] Her career may be viewed in two capacities, viz., (i) as regent and (ii) as queen.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 152-55.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, v, 216.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 232.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 238.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 239-40 (Rāmadeva was an expert in witchcraft).
[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 242.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, v, 243.

Notice has already been taken of the events during her career as a regent. After the death of Śaṅkaravarman, she managed to keep the news of his decease secret quite long so as to reach her own frontiers. Further, she had the discernibility to choose the right course in her dealings with the Shāhis, though she subsequently fell a victim to her own weakness of character.

Queen Sugandhā had to contend and maintain a precarious balance between two new groups of armed bands—the Tantrins and the Ekāṅgas. The Tantrins, a group of organised militia, were entrusted with the defence of the valley and were, therefore, strong enough to create problems for the queen.[2] They openly disobeyed her commands and, in desperation, Sugandhā had to bestow her favours upon another military group—that of the Ekāṅgas.[3] Soon the queen and the Tantrins fell out on the vital question of succession. Sugandhā favoured Nirjitavarman, son of Sukharāja and related to her from the mother's side, and she was supported by the Ekāṅgas also.[4] But this was opposed by her ministers and officials who had also the backing of the Tantrins. Nirjitavarman, from the accounts in the Chronicle, appears to have been a cripple and of dissipated nature.[5] The Tantrins enthroned Pārtha, a 10 year old son of Nirjitavarman, and the queen had to take refuge at Hushkapura.[6] There sh ewas joined by the Ekāṅgas who had resolved to champion her cause and marched forth for a trial of strength. The Tantrins, however, defeated the Ekāṅgas signally; the queen was captured and put to death in 914 A. D. (It appears that, since 906 A. D., Sugandhā had been in exile and mustering strength to capture power with the help of the Ekāṅgas).

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 220.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, v, 248-50.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 249 (Stein's note).
Who these Ekāṅgas were—is not clear, but as they are mentioned along with the ministers, high officials and the feudals, they must have been an organized group wielding enough political and military power.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 251-52.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 253.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 259.

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THE DOWNFALL OF THE UTPALAS

The death of Queen Sugandhā at the hands of her captors and the subsequent affairs in the valley dealt a severe blow to the power of the Utpalas. Sugandhā had failed to check the high-handedness of her corrupt officials and a string of weak rulers after her proved to be mere puppets in their hands. Added to this was the rise of the Tantrins and Ekāṅgas who played vital roles in seating, unseating and sometimes, reseating of their nominees on the throne of Kashmir. According to the Chronicle, eight kings ruled the valley within a short period of some 33 years, and one often finds the father and the son contending for the crown.[1] Amid such conditions Pārtha, a mere lad, was enthroned by the officials and the Tantrins.

Pārtha (*c*. 906-21 A.D.).

Pārtha, a son of Nirjitavarman the cripple, was placed on the throne when the valley was passing through chaotic conditions.[2] It has been noted that Sugandhā, the displaced queen, made a vain attempt to recapture power with the help of the Ekāṅgas and was finally defeated, captured and put to death by the well-organized Tantrins, who also had the support of some court-officials.[3] Henceforth, the valley was subjected to one of the worst kinds of maladministration known in its history. Pārtha was placed under the regency of his father, Nirjitavarman, as the former was a mere child.[4] Himself a cripple and given to vices, the latter allowed free reins to his ministers, officers and the Tantrins, to wax fat on the masses.[5] Henceforth, the power and hold of the Tantrins on the affairs of

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1. *R.T.*, I, v, 253-468.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 251-55.
3. *Ibid.*, I, v, 251, 259.
4. *Ibid.*, I, v, 264.
5. *Ibid.*, I, v, 265.

the state was more pronounced as the king, unable to meet their exacting monetary demands, started handing out bills of exchange (*huṇḍikā*) to them for their favour.[1] Kings were mere titular heads while the real power was vested in the hands of the ministers and the Tantrins. This hold and power of the Tantrins was, however, reduced by Chakravarman and Saṅgrāma Ḍāmara, and finally wiped off by Kamalavardhana, as shall be noticed later, but, in the meantime, their atrocities and exactions reduced the valley to abject poverty.[2]

As stated in the Chronicle, Pārtha was merely a titular figurehead and real powers were vested in the hands of Nirjitavarman and some of the ministers. Of the latter group, one Meruvardhana, deserves notice. He had built the shrine of Meruvardhanasvāmī at Purāṇādhishṭhāna and along with his many sons, amassed great wealth.[3] Śaṅkaravardhana, the eldest of his sons, was in league with others and had systematically dipped into the royal treasures.[4] Meanwhile, the subjects groaned under the exactions of these officers.

The Great Famine (917-18 A.D.).

The miseries of the masses were further augmented by natural calamities and the valley witnessed one of its worst famines in 917-18 A.D. Thousands died for want of food and prices rose sky-high, one *khāri* of rice selling for a thousand *dinnārs*.[5] Corpses were thrown into the Jhelum (Vitastā); the entire land was laid waste and parched bones covered the open spaces making the country look like a huge burial-ground.[6] Meanwhile, the officials, aided and abetted by the Tantrins, acquired, accumulated and sold grains (rice) from the royal stores at phenomenal prices and amassed wealth at the cost of the people.[7] Amid such conditions the king (in reality the regent Nirjitavarman) often elevated such persons to ministership who could meet the bills of demand (*huṇḍikā*) of the

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1. *R.T.*, I, v, 266, 275.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 327-37, 452.
3. *Ibid.*, I, v, 267-68 (Stein's note).
4. *Ibid.*, I, v, 269.
5. *Ibid.*, I, v, 271.
6. *Ibid.*, I, v, 273.
7. *Ibid.*, I, v, 274.

Tantrins.[1] The regent, it appears, was seeking his own comforts and Pārtha was a helpless onlooker. He seems to have made several attempts to gain control but was defeated in these by his pleasure-seeking regent-father.[2]

The situation worsened gradually because of court-intrigues. Nirjitavarman had contracted matrimony with Meruvardhana's daughter and this had increased the power and hold of Meruvardhana's sons.[3] Nirjitavarman's two queens, Bappaṭadevī and Mṛigāvatī (daughter of Meruvardhana) exercised their feminine charms on one, Sugandhāditya (probably a leader of the Tantrins), to secure the throne for their issues.[4] While plots and counter-plots were being hatched behind the scenes, Pārtha was overthrown by Nirjitavarman with the support of the Tantrins and the latter was installed as full-fledged king in 921 A.D.

Pārtha was really a victim of the circumstances and it was not possible for him to assert himself against his scheming father and the Tantrins. He tried to gain control but was, every time, unsuccessful. Even after he had gained maturity, he was unable to cope with the crafty Meruvardhana's sons and the Tantrins, whose activities were connived at by Nirjitavarman. Thus, his rule ended in a failure, but he was, however, destined to come to the throne a second time later.[5]

Nirjitavarman (*c.* 921-23 A.D.).

Nirjitavarman, who had played such a nefarious role as regent (during the rule of his son, Pārtha), was, at last, crowned king after the removal of Pārtha from the throne.[6] But he was destined not to rule long and died in *c.* 923 A.D. after nominating Chakravarman, his child-son, to the throne.[7] Nirjitavarman had every opportunity both as a regent and finally as a ruler to have distinguished himself as a capable ruler; instead he proved a moral leper and was addicted to cups. He never cared for the welfare of the people and was content to look to his own pleasures and comforts.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 275, 279-80.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, v, 280.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 282-84.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 281, 286.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 295-96.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 287.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, v, 288.

Chakravarman (*c.* 923-33 A.D.).

As related above, Chakravarman, a child, had been nominated to the throne by Nirjitavarman. This move evidently was made to disbar Pārtha, who had been ousted by his father. It appears from the Chronicle that Pārtha had come to some understanding with the powerful Tantrins who were now willing to support his cause.[2] On the other side, Chakravarman, who was under the guardianship of his mother and grandmother, Bappaṭadevī and Kshillikā respectively, was supported by the Ekāṅgas, who were also out to gain from fishing into troubled affairs of Kashmir.[3] Pārtha did make another attempt to seize royal powers, but it seems that he was unsuccessful, for Chakravarman ruled for some ten years. It is also likely that the latter had been able to win over the Tantrins and thus continued his precarious hold on the throne.

But the Tantrins were soon displeased, and overthrew Chakravarman in *c.* 933-34 A.D.; they placed Śūravarman I, another son of Nirjitavarman and queen Mṛigāvatī on the throne.[4]

Śūravarman I (*c.* 933-34 A.D.).

Śūravarman I, from the accounts of Kalhaṇa, seems to have been a man of calibre and character but was a victim of circumstances.[5] The ministers and officials of the state, together with royal relatives, contrived to bring about a rift between Śūravarman I and the Tantrins as he was unable to meet their heavy monetary demands.[6] Ultimately, the Tantrins, unable to get as much as they expected from Śūravarman I, displaced him and reinstalled Pārtha on the throne after the former had ruled for about a year.[7]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 253-55.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, v, 289.
[3] *Ibld.*, I, v, 289-90.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 292.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 294.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 293.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, v, 295.

Pārtha (*c.* 934-35 A.D.).

Pārtha had been waiting for his chance and was able to win over the confidence of the Tantrins through big promises. In this, he was aided by his mistress who was a skilful plotter and the Tantrins seated him on the throne.[1] But it appears that Pārtha was unable to satisfy the greed of the Tantrins who ultimately once again took up the cause of Chakravarman, the latter having offered them 'great riches.'[2]

Chakravarman (*c.* 935 A.D.).

Chakravarman once again ascended the throne of Kashmir and set about creating a ring of official supporters around him.[3] The sons of Meruvardhana, Śaṅkaravardhana and Śambhuvardhana, who had earlier gained considerable notoriety, were elevated to the offices of *akshapaṭala* and *gṛihakṛitya*, respectively.[4] But Chakravarman, too, could not meet the demands of the Tantrins and had, in desperation, to run away and seek refuge in Maḍavarājya.[5]

Śambhuvardhana (*c.* 935-36 A.D.).

The flight of Chakravarman to Maḍavarājya afforded an opportunity to the notorious Vardhana brothers to aspire for the throne. Śaṅkaravardhana, son of Meruvardhana, soon dispatched his younger brother, Śambhuvardhana, to the Tantrins for negotiations so as to be made king. The latter, however, proved much more wily and procured the throne for himself.[6]

It would thus be quite apparent that the Tantrins were in complete command of affairs at the Kashmir court and could seat or unseat any one on the royal throne provided the person of their choice was able to meet their demands at the cost of the people with the help of corrupt court officials as well as the throne-seekers.

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1. *R.T.*, I, v, 295-96.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 297.
3. *Ibid.*, I, v, 298.
4. *Ibid.*, I, v, 301.
5. *Ibid.*, I, v, 303.
6. *Ibid.*, I, v, 304.

Chakravarman and Saṅgrāma Ḍāmara.

Meanwhile, Chakravarman was bidding his time in exile and came in contact with Saṅgrāma, the powerful chief of the Ḍāmaras, who ruled from Śrīḍhakka.[1] Though the Ḍāmara chief at first entertained some misgivings about the fidelity of Chakravarman to him, yet, he agreed to deal with the Tantrins and promised martial help to the deposed and exiled king.[2] This friendship was cemented by sacred oaths and both proceeded to crush the power of the Tantrins.[3]

Restoration of Chakravarman (*c*. 936 A.D.).

Chakravarman and the Ḍāmara forces were opposed by the Tantrins and Śaṅkaravardhana, who took the field on behalf of his ruling brother Śambhuvardhana.[4] After a severe battle near Padmapura, in which he showed extraordinary courage and valour, Chakravarman killed Śaṅkaravardhana, which apparently broke the back of all opposition and thousands of Tantrins were slain by his forces and the Ḍāmaras.[5] Śambhuvardhana, too, took the field but was defeated, captured and ultimately put to death.[6] Chakravarman once again came in possession of the royal throne for the third time and it goes without saying that the Tantrins were dealt a severe blow by the Ḍāmaras, Ekāṅgas and their supporters.[7]

But this signal victory over the Tantrins and his opponents turned the head of Chakravarman who soon became 'overbearing and committed cruel and evil acts.'[8] He became infatuated with a couple of dancing girls of the Ḍomba clan and even elevated one of them to the rank of the chief queen.[9] Their father and other relatives were placed at high offices, much to the disgust of the Ḍāmaras.[10] The Ḍombas, for a time, were prominent at the court and the king rewarded their chief and father-in-law by grant of some villages.[1] Soon Chakravarman got some Ḍāmaras treacherously murdered and, for this heinous act, had to pay with his own life. A band of Ḍāmaras fell upon him one night, slew him in his chamber and also looted the valley.[2] Thus, after having succeeded to the throne three times and ruled the valley for nearly twelve years, rather ingloriously, Chakravarman met a sad end at the hands of his own supporters.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 306.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, v, 310, 324.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 326-27.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 328.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 330, 334.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 348-49.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, v, 341-42.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, v, 351.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, v, 387.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, v, 389.

Unmattāvanti[3] (*c*. 937-39 A.D.).

But worse was to follow. Chakravarman was followed on the throne by Unmattāvanti (varman) [or Avanti (varman), the madly wicked], a son of Pārtha, who was a choice of the vicious ministers headed by Śarvaṭa.[4] Unmattāvanti (varman) was a vain and characterless person, hostile even to his parents and the family.[5] Early in his reign, he came under the influence of one Parvagupta, who himself was an aspirant for the throne.[6] Parvagupta soon entered into a conspiracy with five ministers, Bhūbhaṭa, Śarvaṭa (who had been instrumental in securing the throne for Unmattāvanti), Choja, Kumuda and Amṛtakara by name, and, being far-sighted, instigated the king to kill all his blood-relations.[7]

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1. Kalhaṇa, relating an incident, says that as the recorder of official documents (*paṭṭopādhyāya*) did not execute the document relating to the grant (*dānapaṭṭaka*), Raṅga proceeded to the *akshapaṭala* (office) and thus addressed that (official) in anger : 'You son of the slave, why do you not write "*Raṅgassa Helu diṇṇa*" (Helu to be granted to Raṅga)'. Due to his fear, Kalhaṇa goes on to say, he wrote accordingly. (*R.T.*, I, v. 397-98). The terms *dānapaṭṭaka* and *akshapaṭala* occurring in this context will be elaborated in the chapter on administration.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 408-13.
3. According to Stein, the name of the king was Unmattāvanti, to which the family suffix 'varman' may be added (Unmattāvantivarman). But Shastri breaks the word into two and takes '*unmatta*' (i.e., mad or mentally deranged) as an adjective of Avantivarman. Thus, according to him, the name of the wicked ruler was Avantivarman, who was drunk with power or authority to the point of madness. (*Ibid.*, I, v, 414, p. 155, Pt. Ram Tej Shastri, Text & Hindi Trans.).
4. *Ibid.*, I, v, 414.
5. *Ibid.*, I, v, 417.
6. *Ibid.*, I, v, 420-21.
7. *Ibid.*, I, v, 427.

Very soon the king, acting on the advice of Parvagupta starved his brothers (including Śaṅkaravarman) to death.[1] Then his wrath fell upon his parents and Pārtha was murdered by his favourites; the latter were even rewarded by the king for their complicity in imprisoning him (Pārtha).[2] It goes without saying that Unmattāvanti (varman) was aided and abetted in his foul deeds by his counsellors, ministers and the Tantrins.[3] Parvagupta, it can be easily surmised, had regained the confidence of the king.[4]

Meanwhile, the land of Kashmir, already looted by the Ḍāmaras after the death of Chakravarman, was subjected to severe exactions by the Kāyastha officials whom the king had favoured.[5] Already the king had furnished proof of his vile nature and his atrocities increased day by day.[6] Licentious of habits, he died of consumption in *c.* 939 A.D. after placing Śūravarman II on the throne.[7]

Śūravarman II (*c.* 939 A.D.).

Śūravarman II, who followed Unmattāvanti (varman), seems to have had a doubtful ancestry.[8] It appears from the account of the Chronicle that he was afraid of Kamalavardhana, the commander-in-chief, who had distinguished himself against the Ḍāmaras. It appears that Śūravarman II was yet a child and depended for support upon the sympathy of the Ekāṅgas, Tantrins, counsellors and a few chiefs loyal to the throne.[9] Such a state of affairs was exploited by Kamalavardhana, who held control of Maḍavarājya and rose in rebellion.[10]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 429.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, v, 430-34.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, x, 431.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 438.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 439.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 440-41.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, v, 448.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, v, 445-48. Kalhaṇa states in these verses that Śūravarman II was not a son of the deceased king (445-46) but in the following verse (449) refers him as his son.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, v, 445-49.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, v, 451.

Kamalavardhana and Contemporary Politics.

According to Kalhaṇa, Śūravarman II was surprised by Kamalavardhana while on a visit to a temple.[1] The child-king was supported by the combined strength of the Ekāṅgas, Tantrins, feudatory chiefs and also ministers.[2] But Kamalavardhana, after routing the Ḍāmaras on the way, gained a decisive victory over the royal supporters and entered the royal palace.[3] Śūravarman II was carried away to safety by his mother.[4]

Kamalavardhana, however, exhibited an utter lack of foresight and did not ascend the throne; instead, he left the decision for the throne in the hands of a council of Brāhmaṇas.[5] Very possibly, he was, too, sure of his choice by the aforesaid council. The council, however, assembled at the Gokula temple for this very fateful decision and continued its deliberations for several days.[6] When Kamalavardhana, after a few days, reminded the Brāhmaṇas about his candidature for the vacant throne, the latter drove him away by pelting stones at him.[7] Similar approaches by the widow of Unmattāvanti, of the parricidal notoriety, were also rejected and, ultimately, the choice of the council fell on Yaśaskara, a man of erudition and one who had returned to the valley from abroad.[8]

The royal house of the Utpalas thus came to an inglorious end. The dynasty had had its share of worthy rulers of the calibre of Avantivarman and Gopālavarman, who not only consolidated the fortunes of the family but also proved capable rulers by alleviating the sufferings of the people of the valley brought upon them by the later Kārkoṭas. But the later rulers of this dynasty, viz., Pārtha, Chakravarman, Unmattāvanti, etc., cast all moral obligations to the winds and oppressed the masses through tyrannical exactions. The Tantrins and the Ekāṅgas wrought havoc by their extortions in the name of these kings and, since they were virtual king-makers, the rulers would not take steps against them. Administrative machinery had become corrupt and unscrupulous; even ministers hoarded food-grains, and connived with the Tantrins in creating famine conditions thereby selling their hoards (of grains) at exhorbitant prices and fleecing the people of their hard-earned wealth. There was an utter dearth of able ministers and men of letters at the royal courts.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 449-51.

[2] *Syālahāraka* here denotes a kind of cavalry force as Pandit and Shastri translate it and, very likely, it consisted of the kings' guards as their number is given as only one thousand. (*ibid.*, Pandit's trans. of I, v, 452, 454, note; *R.T.*, Shastri, Hindi trans., I, v, 454).

[3] *Ibid* , I, v, 454.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 455.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 455-57.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 461.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, v, 464.

[8] About the ancestry of Yaśaskara, Kalhaṇa informs that his grandfather was Vīradeva, who was a common householder. His father, Kāmadeva, was at first a teacher of the sons of minister Meruvardhana and, later on, when latter's son, Prabhākaradeva, became the treasurer of the state (*Gañjādhikārī*), Kāmadeva became his family-treasurer. But it seems that he was dead, otherwise Yaśaskara would not have reached the valley in poverty with his friend Phalguna (*Ibid.*, I, v, 468-73).

Another noticeable factor of the age was a marked degeneration in social and human values resulting in the fall of moral standards. It was the natural outcome of various factors—licentiousness of the kings and the courtiers, poverty, non-adherence to caste regulations, non-observance of marriage rules, etc. The lead was taken by kings themselves who married women of low classes and elevated them even to the rank of chief queens.[1] The royal harem, housing several queens, became notorious for laxity of morals amongst the queens, as already noted above. At the same time, the paramours of such queens often conspired against the ruling kings and made bold bids for the throne for themselves. It was quite natural, under the circumstances for the royal seraglio to become a centre of intrigues and conspiracies with little regard to stability of succession and welfare of masses.

Yet, at the same time, the Utpalas earned a biding place in the history of Kashmir for some of their activities towards the betterment of the lot of the masses, and one such feature deserves special mention. Irrigation was given its due importance by Avantivarman whose able minister, Suyya, had realized its benefits. Irrigational facilities provided for at the cost of the state went a long way in improving the agricultural output of the valley. At times, the prices of foodgrains touched the lowest levels of index never before noticed in the valley. These facilities brought about the maximum amount of available land under the plough and, but for the irresponsible and extortionist attitude of the subsequent rulers, their ministers and other officials of the state, the valley would have flourished and the masses been content.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 287.

Another noteworthy feature and closely allied to these irrigational facilities was the construction of numerous *bunds* and bridges, tanks and reservoirs. These not only checked the recurrent havocs caused by floods and scarcity but also helped in affording better means of communications.

Also, it goes to the credit of the Utpalas that the boundaries of the state were again restored and, at times, even extended far beyond. It should be noted that Utpalas had succeeded to a state whose boundaries had considerably shrunken during the regime of the later Kārkoṭas. In fact, the last few of them were practically ruling over a limited area within the valley itself. But the conquests of some of the Utpalas, specially those of Śaṅkaravarman, had restored the former dimensions of the empire.

8

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA

The exit of the Utpalas from the active political scene of Kashmir ushered in a new era which proved a veritable boon to the harassed and oppressed people of the valley. The inhabitants gained a much needed respite and the country was once again on its way to prosperity similar to the time of Pravarasena, Meghavāhana and Lalitāditya as noted earlier.[1] The new ruler, Yaśaskara, did not belong to any royal family nor had he any background of note. His father, Kāmadeva, had been a teacher of the sons of Meruvardhana, an influential minister of the state. His early life had been spent away from his homeland but he was a learned man possessed of eloquence and foresight.[2]

Yaśaskara (*c.* 939-48 A.D.).

As noted earlier, Yaśaskara had come to occupy the throne of Kashmir under peculiar circumstances and at a time when the country was devoid of political stability (under Śūravarman II). But he vindicated his choice by the assembly of Brāhmaṇas who had chosen him for that office. Essentially a pacifist by nature, he was able to maintain some semblance of peace within the country and, at the same time, controlled the officers of the state through firmness and persuasion. According to the Chronicle, his reign was devoid of disturbances either of an external or internal nature and gradually the king was able to gain the confidence of the people. Very soon he embarked upon a policy of administrative reforms and, as a first measure, restored many of the ordinances issued by kings in the past which were of a beneficial nature.[3] Secondly, through effective policing, he soon rid the country of the roaming bands of robbers; and it was a matter of boast that during his reign shops would remain open till late in the night.[1] Thirdly, he laid great emphasis on the promotion of agriculture and betterment of the lot of the farmers.[2] Injunctions were issued to the officers to help agriculturists in all possible ways and not to harass them by extortion. Another noteworthy achievement of Yaśaskara was promotion of education and learning. The Brāhmaṇas were persuaded to lay down arms and devote themselves to the pursuit of knowledge.[3] According to Kalhaṇa, astrologers, physicians, counsellors, ministers and judges were expected to have studied carefully the treatises concerning their vocations while the teachers and the *purohitas* as well as even clerks were required to have a high degree of proficiency suiting to their professions.[4]

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[1] Chapters II, IV.

[2] *R.T.*, I, v, 469-75.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 6.

Yaśaskara is noted for his impartial judicial decisions and Kalhaṇa illustrates his sense of justice by citing a few stories.[5] According to Ray, we need not doubt the veracity of these stories. The learned scholar has observed: 'Some stories of his wisdom...........illustrate his skill in the interpretation of legal contracts. They have a curious historical look and may be trusted'.[6] Kalhaṇa also praises his forensic acumen and his name may be classed in the galaxy of just rulers of yore headed by the legendary Vikramāditya. Yaśaskara, it seems, did not also lag behind in munificence. He granted 55 villages on the Vitastā as *agrahāras* to learned Brāhmaṇas and also constructed a *maṭha* for the students of Āryadeśa probably at Parihāsapura, his ancestral abode.[7]

But, as has happened so often in the course of the history of Kashmir,

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1. *R.T.*, I, vi, 7.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 8.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 9-12.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 13.
5. *Ibid.* I, vi, 14-41; 42-61.
6. Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 54.
7. Tradition places these *agrahāras* at *Kathula* on the left bank of the Vitastā near Srinagar (*R.T.*, I, vi, 89, Stein's note). The Chronicle further informs us that Yaśaskara constructed the *maṭha* 'Āryadeśa', a term which probably denotes northern India and 'the king's donation for students coming from Āryadeśa and residing in Kashmir is significant as it reveals some intimate cultural contacts existing between the happy valley and the plains of India in the tenth century.' (Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, pp. 54-55).

the rule of Yaśaskara, which had started with a promise, fell into disrepute. Too often the kings of the valley fell prey to the charms of the flesh and Yaśaskara, too, could not escape from this weakness. He fell in love with Lalla, a low-class woman and elevated her to the status of the chief queen.[1] Naturally, therefore, discipline and morals became slack in the royal seraglio which became a hot-bed of intrigues. One of his governors (*Maṇḍaleśa*) carried on such machinations in the royal harem and, it appears, the king, though knowing about it, paid little heed.[2] Even the vicious Lalla carried on with a low class man and her faithlessness was revealed to the king by an officer. The king, however, was so infatuated with her that he could only remonstrate with the queen.[3] Such a state of affairs could only result in laxity of general discipline and soon the administrative machinery fell prey to its old corrupt ways. Its beginning was made by the king himself who appointed four city-prefects (*Nagarādhikṛitas*) where there was normally only one and these newly appointed officers soon distinguished themselves by tortuous extortions in order to please the king.[4] Yaśaskara gave up the habit of taking interest in military exercises; he even went to the extent of placing his sword in a temple, which clearly indicates that he had ceased taking interest in military activities.[5] The result was that the once-famous infantry regiments of the valley, which had distinguished themselves so often in the defence of the country earlier, fell into disrepute and finally came to the point of virtual extinction. There was a marked change in the disposition of the king also; he felt no grief nor displayed it at the death of his brother, giving rise to the rumour that he himself was the cause of it.[6]

Conditions continued to worsen as Yaśaskara lost all interest in the affairs of the state. He did not even nominate Saṅgrāmadeva, his son, who was yet a child, as his successor because he was not sure whether the child was his own.[7] Consequently, his choice of a successor fell on his cousin Varṇaṭa, a son of Rāmadeva, his paternal grand-uncle.[1] This act of Yaśaskara, however, seems to have set off a series of reactions; there were many who nourished secret dreams of usurping the throne by ousting the child Saṅgrāmadeva, but were thwarted. One such was Parvagupta, a vicious and powerful minister, who was dreaming of occupying the throne after Yaśaskara.[2]

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[1] *R,T.*, I, vi, 74.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 73.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 77-83.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 70.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 71.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 72.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 91-92.

Varṇaṭa (*c.* 948 A.D.).

It appears from the Chronicle that Yaśaskara, in his own lifetime, abdicated the throne and installed Varṇaṭa as his successor. Varṇaṭa proved to be lacking in qualities of head and heart so necessary for that office. It is not surprising that he was on the throne just for one day only and deposed the very next morning. The choice as a ruler had so swelled up his pride that he did not even have the ordinary courtesy to pay a visit to Yaśaskara, who was ailing and happened to be in the capital. This act of gross misconduct angered the latter and the ministers that they advised Yaśaskara to depose Varṇaṭa and crown Saṅgrāmadeva in his stead.[3] Accordingly, Varṇaṭa was imprisoned on that very night and the following morning his deposition was proclaimed.[4] It was so humiliating that one of his followers, a Rajput of royal blood, even gave up his sword.

Death of Yaśaskara.

Yaśaskara, whose health had been failing, had, in the meanwhile, chosen Saṅgrāmadeva as his successor at the instance of his ministers.[5] Realizing that his end was near, the king repaired to his *maṭha* with two thousand five hundred gold-pieces on his person.[6] While still conscious, he watched helplessly the infidelity of his ministers who even relieved him of his wealth and distributed it amongst themselves. Tired of waiting, these faithless courtiers and relatives hastened the end of the ailing king by

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1. *R. T.*, I, vi, 91-92
2. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 120.
3. *Ibid..*, I, vi, 94-95.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 96.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 95, 99.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 99-102.

administering poison to him.[1] Kalhaṇa also relates another story according to which the king was said to have died of witchcraft, though he himself doubts its veracity.[2] The reign of Yaśaskara, which had started with such a promise, thus ended ingloriously within a short period of nine years (*c.* 939-948 A.D.)

Saṅgrāmadeva (*c.* 948-949 A.D).

Saṅgrāmadeva, yet a child, had been crowned during the lifetime of his father, Yaśaskara, and it can easily be inferred that the ministerial council, headed by the crafty Parvagupta, held an upper hand in the affairs of the state. Parvagupta managed to place Saṅgrāmadeva under the regency of his grand-mother, quite an old lady, with a view to wield real power from behind.[3] With this intent in mind, he even got rid of those ministers who had helped and collaborated with him earlier. Finally, he even disposed of the regent grand-mother and assumed all powers himself.[4] Very soon he clothed himself with airs of royalty and became the *de facto* ruler, though still a minister and feigning absolute subservience to the child-king.[5]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 106.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 108-12.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 115.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 116.

[5] Kalhaṇa makes an interesting observation in verse I, vi, 117. As translated by Stein, Parvagupta 'created the mingled impression of king (*rājan*) and *Rījānaka*' (*R.T.*, I, vi, 117). *Rājānaka* is a title conferred by the king for highly meritorious services and means 'an inferior king' 'a petty prince' (Monier Williams, *S.E.D.*, p. 874, column 3) or 'almost a king' (Stein, I, vi, 117, fn. p. 244). Several celebrated Kashmiri authors including Ratnākara and Ānanda bore this title and it also appears to have been either a name or title of Āchārya Mammaṭa (Monier Williams, *Ibid.*). It may be noted with interest that this title was also known in the Kangra valley regions or Trigarta. Several interesting conclusions can be drawn from this. In the first place, the title was generally borne by pandits or scholars who were Brāhmaṇas and whose descendants came to form an exclusive community among Kashmir Brāhmaṇas and whose family-name was, as is even today, Razdan. Secondly, it might be taken to hint at the caste of Parvagupta. Thirdly, since the title was quite popular in Kangra regions, Parvagupta might have hailed from these regions, though his father,

The ambitious Parvagupta soon began to formulate schemes of usurping the throne, but he was deterred in acting upon them for fear of the powerful Ekāṅgas, whose loyalty to the child-king was unswerving.[1] Though Kalhaṇa introduces an element of witchcraft and the supernatural tinge in his narrative here, it is clear that, seizing upon an opportunity of heavy snowfall in the valley, he surrounded the palace with troops of his following, killed the faithful minister Rāmavardhana and slew Saṅgrāmadeva, whose lifeless body was thrown into the Vitastā.[2] Thus, ended the titular and uneventful rule of Saṅgrāmadeva, who was on the throne for about 5 months.[3]

Parvagupta (*c*. 949-50 A.D.).

Parvagupta did not come of any royal family and was a mere commoner.[4] His father, Saṅgrāmagupta, hailed from Pārevisokā and his grandfather, Abhinava(gupta) was a mere clerk.[5] Some twelve years earlier, he had gained access to the royal court of Unmattāvanti (varman) as a dancer and had gradually found his way to recognition by associating himself with the council of five ministers headed by Bhūbhaṭa.[6] It is quite apparent from the narrative that Parvagupta had been, since the very beginning, nursing the ambition of seating himself on the throne of Kashmir.[7] Under the chaotic political circumstances through which the valley was passing during those days, a person of ambition and capable of intrigues had enough scope to seek fulfilment of his dreams, and Parvagupta seems to have devoted himself fully to this mission of his life.[8] For a brief period, it appears, he lost the favour of the king, but was soon able to regain it through his son, Devagupta, the latter having participated in

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Saṅgrāmagupta, was born in Pāreviśokā, beyond the river Viśoka (modern Visau); *R.T.*, I, vi, 4; vi, 130; viii, 2140.

[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 121 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 127-28.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 114, 129.

[4] Cf., *Ibid.*, I, p. 240, fn.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 130.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 420, 422-23.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, v, 421.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, v, 427 ff.

the brutal murder of Pārtha, as noted earlier.[1] Further, in order to stabilise his position at the court, he had married away his two daughters to Chhoja and Bhūbhaṭa, whose offsprings played a none too notorious role subsequently[2], as shall be seen later.

Immediately after ascending the throne, Parvagupta tried to satisfy (or bring about the subservience of all—albeit sullen) the disgruntled forces around him at the court.[3] Having punished and insulted an Ekāṅga chief of noble birth rather harshly, he soon put the fear of life among all his other opponents.[4] But his chief aim after accession seems to have been that of amassing wealth through officers adept in exactions. A portion of such ill-gotten gains was, however, spent in founding a shrine—Parvaguptesvara—after his name.[5] Like other lecherous rulers of the valley, Parvagupta, too, had no strength of character and was hopelessly enamoured of (the beauty of) the pious and widowed queen of Yaśaskara whom he wanted to join his seraglio. The queen, however, played a neat trick on him, caused a temple to be built by Parvagupta in order to perpetuate the memory of her departed husband, and soon after its completion, cast herself bodily in the sacrificial fire rather than yield to the usurper's advances.[6] This act of the queen made Parvagupta extremely unpopular amongst his subjects.[7] He was soon seized by dropsy and died shortly after in 950 A.D.[8]

Kshemagupta (*c.* 950-58 A.D.).

The wicked Parvagupta was succeeded by his equally vicious and vainglorious son, Kshemagupta, in 950 A. D. The new monarch had imbibed in him all those evil traits that go with bad upbringing and was much attached to his cups.[9] Vicious and wicked persons had formed a group around him, encouraged him in his licentious habits and, at the same time, lined their pockets at his cost.[1] Gambling, wine and women accounted for his entire day and the learned and the venerable were objects of insult and ridicule at his hands.[2] Quite naturally, such a state of affairs bred discontent among the masses and paved the way for rebellions of which Kshemagupta had a fair share during the period of his rule.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 437-38.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 211-13.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi 132.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 131-34.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 137.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 138-43.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 144.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 145-48.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 151.

The warlike Ḍāmaras, who had so often figured as trouble-makers in the history of Kashmir for several centuries, rose in revolt against Kshemagupta under the leadership of Saṅgrāma. The latter was, however, unable to withstand the force of the king and sought refuge in the Buddhist monastery of Jayendravihāra.[3] But Kshemagupta, completely impervious to the heinous monstrosity of his acts, completely burnt down the *Vihīra* after rifling it of its riches including a splendid brass-image of the Buddha.[4] Thirty-six villages, that had been donated to Jayendravihāra from earlier times, were confiscated and given over to the Khaśa ruler, probably Siṁharāja.[5] As if for atonement of his above sins, he caused to be built a Śaiva temple, Kshemagaurīśvara by name, out of the ruins and masonry material obtained from the burnt down Vihāra.[6] The subsequent fate of the Ḍāmara chief, Saṅgrāma, is, however, not known, though he may be presumed to have perished in the fire.

It was about this time that Kshemagupta contracted a matrimonial alliance that affected vitally the course of the history of the valley in subsequent centuries. King Siṁharāja gave away his daughter, Diddā, in marriage to Kshemagupta and this marriage was of considerable political importance in many ways. Obviously, the Khaśa ruler was none else but Siṁharāja, who ruled from Lohara and to whom Kshemagupta had handed over thirty-six villages confiscated from the Jayendravihāra.[7] Siṁharāja had married the daughter to Bhīma, the Shāhi ruler and Diddā was born of this union.[8] Subsequently, the entire valley passed under the

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1. *R.T.*, I, vi, 152 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 153-57.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 171.
4. *Ibid.*, 1, vi, 172-73.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 175. (Stein's note).
6. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 172-73.
7. *Ibid.*, II, p. 433.
8. *Ibid.*, I vi, 177-78.

rule of the Loharas after the death of Diddā in 1003 A.D., as shall be seen presently.[1]

Diddā's Influence.

It appears from the account of the Chronicle that Diddā began to wield cosiderable influence on Kshemagupta from the very beginning. Several factors may have been responsible for this; either she was a lady of considerable feminine charms and brains or that Kshemagupta himself attached very great importance to this marriage, as it brought together his own line with that of the Loharas and indirectly with that of the Shāhis. It is also possible that both the hypotheses together accounted for the influence of the queen, as is borne out by the fact that Kshemagupta was henceforth nicknamed '*Diddākshema*'.[2] This is perhaps also proved by numismatic evidence as coins of Kshemagupta have come to light bearing the letter '*Di*' on some of them.[3] Kshemagupta seems to have realized the wisdom of pacifying the home-front as well and also married a daughter of his minister, Phalguṇa.[4] Unfortunately for him, this marriage disturbed the harmony of his harem and caused considerable misunderstandings and heartburning between the two ladies—Diddā and Chandralekhā, the minister's daughter. It can easily be surmised that relations between Phalguṇa and the former would naturally have been far from cordial.[5] The influence of the Shāhis, too, through the Lohras, can easily be assessed from the fact that Bhīma Shāhi, also known to us from other sources, built a temple named Bhīmakeśava at Srinagar.[6]

While the affairs of the state had little chance to stabilise, Kshemagupta died rather suddenly in 958 A.D. after having ruled for about eight years. The late king was excessively fond of hunting and boasted of considerable skill in archery. Though the cause of death is garbed in the supernatural, yet it is apparent that the king, while out for hunting, contracted some sort of infection and died of it.[7]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 36 .

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi 177.

[3] Cunningham, A., *C.M,I.*, p. 45; Bamzai; P.N.K., *H.K.*, p. 133.

[4] *R T.*, I, vi, 179.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 178. (Stein's note).

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 183-87.

Abhimanyu (*c.* 958-72 A.D.).

Kshemagupta was succeeded on the throne by his minor son, Abhimanyu (who is to be styled as Abhimanyu II) and soon the influential queen Diddā took up the reins of government in her own hands as regent of her offspring.[1] The youngster, Abhimanyu, was yet a minor and consequently unable to play any leading role in the contemporary politics of Kashmir. His nominal rule of twelve years was marked by revolts and events of considerable importance but, in almost all of them, the regent-mother, Diddā, figures prominently.

Relations between the prime minister, Phalguṇa, and Diddā had never been cordial, as noted earlier, and the latter suspected Phalguṇa of instigating and conniving at a plot to force her for self-immolation along with other queens after the death of her husband.[2] This further estranged the two, particularly when another minister, Rakka by name, started poisoning her ears against Phalguṇa.[3] The latter was clever enough to assess his precarious position at the royal court.[4] As prime minister and a man of ability, he was not liked by other opportunist and capricious minister-colleagues as well as some high state-officials.[5] Finding his ground insecure at the court and apprehensive of his personal safety, he repaired to Parṇotsa along with a few of his trusted followers.[6] The regent queen, growing suspicious, sent men after him calling him back, but Phalguṇa, by laying down his sword before a deity and dispelling all fears of a possible revolt, could reach Parṇotsa in safety.[7] There he spent his time awaiting the return of his son, Kardamarāja, who had gone with the bones of Kshemagupta sent to be immersed in the holy waters of the Ganga.[8] The exit of Phalguṇa from the active political scene (though only for a time) saved the valley from the threats of a possible civil war and offered Diddā an opportunity to assume full control of the affairs at the court. Later, as shall be presently noticed, he was recalled to steer the ship of the state when it was in troubled waters.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 188.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 179, 196.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 197.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 198.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 199.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 202 (Stein's note).
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 203-07.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vi , 200-03.

Rebellion of Mahiman.

Meanwhile, Diddā had to face the rebellion of Mahiman and Paṭala, sons of the two daughters of king Parvagupta and married to two ministers, Chhoja and Bhūbhaṭa.[2] The two had been brought up like princes in the royal palace and, egged by a few supporters, considered themselves claimants for the throne.[3] This revolt soon gained support and momentum when the princes were ousted from the royal palace and sought refuge with their relatives. The queen's officers were in hot pursuit but Śaktisena, father-in-law of Mahiman, disdaining royal commands, not only offered shelter but also came out in open revolt.[4] The rebel forces were soon joined by other disgruntled elements from neighbouring localities and the situation became alarming.[5] Only Naravāhana, the able and experienced minister, stood firm in his loyalty to the regent queen and was the main pillar of support to her during this critical hour of trial.[6]

The rebel forces soon marched down to the temple of Padmasvāmī for a test of fortunes and the queen, anxious for the safety of her minor son, Abhimanyu, went to Śūramaṭha where the young prince was safe from the attackers.[7] At the same time, Diddā won over an appreciable section of the rebels led by Brāhmaṇas through a plentiful offering of gold and a peaceful settlement was arrived at between the queen and Mahiman.[8] The queen-regent thus rose equal to the situation and 'this was the first critical period in the long life of Diddā which tested her merits of forbearance, fortitude and statesmanship. As the events proved, she rose equal to the occasion and scaled heights of diplomacy while dealing with

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1. *R.T.*, I, vi, 284.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 211-12.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 213.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 214-17.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 218-20.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 221.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 223.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 224-25.

the enemies and facing the odds'.[1] The precarious position of the queen can easily be surmised; she was threatened with an organized and determined rebellious foe, yet she did not lose her balance of mind and broke the very back of the revolt by a stroke of diplomacy.

The subsequent actions of the queen after she had got over this initial shock of revolt through strategy and bribery furnish further proofs of her statesmanship. Realizing that she could not rest in peace unless such tendencies were completely rooted out, she won over a large section of the rebels through favours of rank and position. Yaśodhara, noted for his bravery, was made the commander-in-chief.[2] Having thus reduced Mahiman to helplessness, she managed to put him out of the way for ever, no doubt through foul means which is characteristically described as 'witchcraft' by the Chronicler.[3]

Rise of Yaśodhara and His Rebellion.

Yaśodhara, whom the queen had won over from amongst the rebels, had been raised to the highest military responsibility, as noted earlier. The new commander-in-chief was perhaps fired with intense military zeal or was after some spectacular victory, obviously to gain further esteem of the queen. He soon marched against a Shāhi chieftain, Thakkana by name, presumably of his own accord.[4] The expedition of Yaśodhara seems to have been inspired more on personal grounds as he is said to have been accompanied by his relatives as well.[5] Though the terrain was hilly, inaccessible and difficult to march on, yet Yaśodhara, by his lightning marches, surprised Thakkana and made him a captive after a brief resistance.[6] Yaśodhara exacted tribute from him and reinstated him as ruler.[7] But while Yaśodhara was away from the capital on his expedition against Thakkana, a few officers of the state, led by a minister, Rakka, took advantage of his absence and poisoned the ears of the queen-regent

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1. Bazaz, P.N., *Daughters of the Vitasta*, p. 31.
2. *R.T.*, I, vi, 226, 228.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 229.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 230.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 231.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 233.

against him.[1] His action of accepting tribute from the Shāhi chief and reinstating him as lord was interpreted as treason and not conforming to the queen's orders. Apparently, the regent-queen was soon convinced by Rakka and other jealous officials that Yaśodhara had not followed her instructions and had acted much in an independent manner in his campaign against Thakkana.[2] Thereupon, she took such steps which do not go to her credit. She tried to punish Yaśodhara by serving an order of banishment and thereby causing another uprising of a far graver nature.[3] The refractory elements, who had earlier sided with Mahiman, soon rallied round Yaśodhara, as they were bound by a sacred oath among themselves and considered this act of the regent-queen wholly unjust and uncalled for.[4] There was discontent in the royal forces as well, but the faithful Naravāhana once again remained loyal to the queen along with his followers.[5] Very soon the revolt assumed alarming proportions and the queen was compelled to dispatch her son, Abhimanyu, to a place of safety, and entrench herself in the royal palace.[6] For a time, the rebels had an upper hand and could easily have disposed of the queen but their indecisiveness was their undoing.[7] This offered an opportunity to the royal forces which soon joined the beleaguered queen and her supporters.[8] The royal forces opposing the insurgents could not withstand the determined bid of the latter in the open and soon sheltered themselves in the royal palace. But the Ekāṅgas stood firm braving the enemy's challenge and beat back the attackers.[9] Fortunately for the queen, help, headed by one Rājakulabhaṭṭa, arrived at this critical juncture and the tables were turned. After Rājakulabhaṭṭa had slain Himmaka, regarded by the rebels as the mightiest of them all, the latter lost all hopes of victory and took to their heels.[10]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 233.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 236.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 237.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 238-39.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 239.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 240-41.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 241.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 242.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 244-45.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 247-49.

Yaśodhara was captured along with a few other rebel leaders while some managed to escape.[1]

Terrible punishment was meted to the rebels. Diddā was less generous this time; iron had begun to enter her soul, her feelings had hardened and she punished all the rebel leaders as suited her purpose.[2] Not content with this alone, she took this opportunity to purge the administration of all such greedy and opportunist ministers and officials who, for more than fifty years, had been systematically robbing the state-treasures oppressing and fleecing the subjects to their advantage.[3] The fifty fateful years prior to the regency of Diddā may well be viewed in the light of a parallel during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish of the Slave dynasty (1210-96 A.D.) after whom the Amirs and the Ghulams had behaved in a similar high-handed and irresponsible manner.

Thus ended the revolt of Yaśodhara in a signal failure. However, from the point of view of the monarchical system in the valley, it proved to be a blessing in disguise. Hitherto the effete rule of several kings had passed the real authority of the kings into the hands of a band of unscrupulous, greedy to the extreme, and adventurous ministers who had often led the rulers by nose into a life of utter dissipation. While the masses groaned under their tyrannical exactions, the ministers made hay and promoted intrigues both in the palace and the court. Diddā proved her mettle when, though herself by no means a virtuous lady, she availed of this opportunity to get rid of the coterie of parasitic ministers and such high officers who had fed themselves fat at the cost of both the rulers and the ruled.

Naravāhana—His Rise and Fall.

During all these tumultuous days, Naravāhana, the able and faithful minister, had been a tower of strength and support to the regent queen. Steadfast in his devotion to the throne and extremely conscious of his own heavy responsibilities, he, along with like-minded saner elements in the administration, had weathered all storms of opposition and revolts and had restored the prestige and authority of the ruler.[4] Naturally, therefore, after having dealt with the refractory elements in an exemplary fashion, Diddā turned gratefully towards her supporters and rewarded them handsomely. Rakka was awarded the highest military office and others, too, were amply recompensed with honours and offices.[1] But the highest appellation—that of *Rājānaka*—was bestowed upon Naravāhana, who had steered the ship of her state to security amid stormy days.[2] Out of gratitude, her affection for him grew day by day, so much so that she came to rely upon him to the full in all matters of the state and would go to any length to please him.[3] But, at the same time, the woman in Diddā was too prone to frailty and that worthy minister soon fell from her graces. It is easy to comprehend that the enviable position of Naravāhana must have caused considerable heart-burning amongst other high officers and dignitaries of the state. One such officer was Sindhu who from humble beginnings during the reign of Parvagupta, had gradually risen to the office of the treasurer.[4] Soon the wily Sindhu was able to create misunderstanding between the regent-queen and the minister with the result that forces jealous of Naravāhana joined hands against him.[5] The tried and trusted Naravāhana, who had stood steadfast in his devotion to the queen in her difficult days, was thereafter quite often publicly insulted and shamed, so much so that, unable to withstand the outrage of his dignity, he committed suicide.[6]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 250-52.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 253-55.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 256-58.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 259-60.

The Uprising of the Ḍāmaras.

Soon after the demise of Naravāhana, the queen took steps to punish the Ḍāmaras. It is possible that the latter wanted to assert themselves after the death of Naravāhana or, alternatively, they were in sympathy with Naravāhana and played upon the feelings of popular dissatisfaction arising out of his tragic end and wanted to make best of the situation.[7] Her wrath fell upon the sons of Saṅgrāma Ḍāmara, but they managed to make good their escape and, in turn, occupied the town of Ghosha after making short work of its royal warden, Kayyaka by name.[1] Afraid of a possible general revolt in the wake of this Ḍāmara uprising, the queen hastened to make peace with them, though the latter still harboured distrust and strengthened their position by forming a league with other Ḍāmara chiefs.[3] Meanwhile, Rakka also died and Diddā, acutely conscious of the growing power of the Ḍāmaras, recalled her old and faithful minister, Phalguṇa, who, as stated earlier, had retired from active politics—by no means in good graces—because of the queen.[3] The Ḍāmara menace, it seems, was warded off, but the old minister was unable to cope with the growing curruption in the administrative machinery.[4] It is worthy of notice that the queen no more relied upon the official coterie of the valley; instead, in order to strengthen her position, she started importing and employing men from her parent's side which, however, resulted in further looting of the country.[5]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 259.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 260-61.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 262-63.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 267.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 268-72.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 277-78.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 276, 280.

Death of Abhimanyu (II).

Abhimanyu (II), who was now growing up with signs of promise, was a helpless spectator of the events around him. Unfortunately, he contracted tuberculosis and died in 972 A.D.[6] According to Mohammad Azim, a Muslim chronicler, Abhimanyu (II) was poisoned by his mother, but this account is fully controverted by Wilson who points out that the queen-mother was deeply grieved and that she undertook construction of several cities and edifices both to distract her mind from grief and in memory of her departed son.[7] Kalhaṇa, who has not spared Diddā in pointing out her weaknesses, also maintains that the queen was too overcome with grief and that there was a marked change for the better in her behaviour for a time.[8] Also, according to the Chronicle, she

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1. *R.T.*, I, vi, 281.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 282-83.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 284-85.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 286-87.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 288.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 289-92.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 299; Wilson, H, H., *H.H.K.*, p. 73.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 293-94,

was, for a time, interested and engaged in building activities of a religious character.[1]

Nandigupta (*c.* 972-73 A.D.).

The virtuous Abhimanyu II had died young and left behind three sons who were mere infants at the time of his death. The eldest of them, Nandigupta, was seated on the throne by his influential grandmother, who kept the regency of the child in her hands.[2] But the change in Diddā referred to earlier did not last long and she again took to her libidous and licentious habits by the end of a year.[3] Finding the infant king a hindrance in her evil ways, she got rid of him through witchcraft (according to Kalhaṇa) or, it may well be surmised, through foul means.[4] The nominal rule of Nandigupta thus came to an end in 973 A.D. after a butterfly existence on the throne for about a year.

Tribhuvana (*c.* 973-75 A.D.).

Nandigupta was nominally followed on the throne by his younger infant brother, Tribhuvana, the reins of governance still controlled by Diddā. But within a short period of two uneventful years, Diddā got rid of him and seated Bhīmagupta, the youngest son of Abhimanyu, on the throne in 975 A.D.[5]

Bhīmagupta[6] (*c.* 975-81 A.D.).

Bhīmagupta, too, came to the throne under identical conditions like those of his two predecessors.[1] The only difference was that his tenure on the throne lasted longer. This, very probably, was due to a number of reasons and events of note that took place one after another in quick succession. About this time the old and crafty minister, Phalguṇa, whose presence in the court had had a restraining effect upon the queen-regent, died and Diddā now started indulging in her excesses of misconduct quite

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 295-307.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 293.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 309.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 310-11.
It is quite possible that she got the infant Nandigupta poisoned and Mohammad Azim, whose testimony has been noticed earlier, had confused in the poisoning of the grandsons, one after the other, with that of the son.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 312-13.

[6] According to Kalhaṇa (*R.T.*, I, vi, 329), Bhīmagupta, in reality, was not the son of Abhimanyu II, but came of some noble family. Abhimanyu's wife had managed to secure the new child through some manipulations and his noble blood would not withstand Diddā's acts of gross misconduct and utter shamelessness.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 313.

Although the account of Kalhaṇa does not throw sufficient light on the probable ages of the three infant kings following Abhimanyu on the throne one after another in nonage and under the care of the Queen-Regent Diddā, yet it is possible to presume their dates of birth to a reasonable amount of certainty. Kshemagupta, father of Abhimanyu, married Diddā some time after 950 A.D. and the marriage, one may reasonably infer, took place some time in 951-52 A.D., Abhimanyu being born either in 952 or 953 A.D. This suggestion is based on Kalhaṇa's use of the word *śiśu*, which, according to the usage in Sanskrit, is distinguished from *bālaka*, the latter term specifying an infant under five years of age (cf. Monier M. Williams, *Sans. Eng. Dict.*, p. 728, col. 3 under *Bāla*). As such '*śiśu* Abhimanyu must have been more than five years of age, but under eight or sixteen (*Ibid.*, page 1076, col. 2, under *śiśu*) —the latter possibility being hardly applicable here. Thus, it may be inferred that, at the time of his accession, Abhimanyu was more than five years of age, but less than eight—in all probability, of about six years—when Kshemagupta died in 958 A.D.

Abhimanyu died quite young in 972 A.D. and, according to the above calculations, he could hardly have been 20 years of age at the time of his death. He left behind three sons, Nandigupta, Tribhuvana, and Bhīmagupta, who succeeded one after the other and died quite young due to the machinations of the ambitious Diddā. Since there is no hint in the Chronicle that Abhimanyu had more than one wife, we may further infer that all three were born of the same mother. Admitting the possibility of the marriage of Abhimanyu at the age of fifteen or 967-68 A.D., it may be surmised that the eldest child, Nandigupta, was born at the earliest in 968-69 A.D. It is interesting to note that Kalhaṇa uses the term *bālaka*(*R.T.*, I, vi, 293) for him at the time of his accession in 972 A.D. which further strengthens the reasoning that the terms *śiśu* and *bālaka* were used by the Chronicle in the strict grammatical usage. The other two sons, Tribhuvana and Bhīmagupta, would thus have been born in 969-70 and 971-72 A.D., respectively.

Nandigupta had a short stay at the throne for about a year and died in openly.[1] Also, though now well advanced in age, she developed intimacy with a certain Khaśa named Tuṅga, formerly a herdsman, who had come to the capital and was engaged as a courier.[2] Her infatuation for this commoner gradually became so intense that the city-prefect, Bhuyya, was administered poison and killed for voicing remonstration against her shamelessness.[3] Bhīmagupta, the child-king, was now sufficiently grown up to realize the sad state of affairs in his kingdom and the baser traits of his grandmother's character.[4] He wished for reforms and that was his undoing.[5] The queen grew suspicious of him, imprisoned and tortured him, and finally put him to death. Thus, having put all her grandsons out of the way, she herself ascended the throne in 981 A.D. and succeeded in the attainment of her cherished dream of supreme and unfettered overlordship of the valley for the realization of which she had to wait so long.[6]

Diddā (*c*. 958-1003 A.D.).

Attempt has been made in the foregoing pages to submit the historical background for an assessment of the career and reign of Diddā, who dominated the political scene of the valley for nearly half a century. As noted above, she was the daughter of the powerful Lohara chief, Siṁharāja and grand-daughter, from the mother's side, of the illustrious Shāhi king

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973 A.D. (*Ibid.*, I, vi, 311). He was succeeded by Tribhuvana, another stripling of three or four years, who was done to death in 975 A.D. (*Ibid.*, I, vi, 312) in a similar fashion. Bhīmagupta, the last surviving son of Abhimanyu, was placed on the throne in 975 A.D. and must have been two or three years of age at the most. It is further stated by Kalhaṇa that *śiśu* Bhīmagupta, after 4 or 5 years' stay in the palace, 'had become a little more developed in intellect' and had come of an age when he could realize that his grandmother's (Diddā's) ways of life and living did not conform to propriety (*Ibid* , I, vi, 326-28). According to the above computations, Bhīmagupta was about 8 years of age at that time and here again one finds that the use of the appellation *śiśu* (*Ibid.*, I, vi, 326) for him by Kalhaṇa adds further strength to the above premises and calculations.

1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 315-16
2. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 318-20, (Stein's note).
3. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 322.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 327.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 328.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 330-32.

Bhīma. Notices of her career and times have been taken by several Muslim chroniclers and Kalhaṇa's narrative is well substantiated by these accounts. She finds a place for herself in the galaxy of the great women of India not because of her virtues but because of several traits of her character and vices. Dr. Sircar has thus summed up her early career: 'Loose character, however, was a fatal weakness in her, and this, coupled with an inordinate desire for power, soon led to a violent reaction, and she had her little grandsons.........killed one after another by employing witchcraft, and then herself ascended the throne of Kashmir.........'[1]

The career and doings of this remarkable lady present a queer mixture of jealousy, intrigues, licentiousness, opportunism and singleness of purpose coupled with a domineering trait over her drunkard husband, Kshemagupta, in the days when the latter contracted matrimony with Chandralekhā, daughter of Phalguṇa, as noted above.[2] According to the Chronicle, she was physically handicapped by lameness, but this did not deter her in her ambitions much.[3] During her career as regent, her doings compare favourably with the intrigues at the Mughal court during the reign of Jahangir who was dominated by his ambitious queen Nurjehan, during the later years of his life.

Her career may be assessed in two broad phases: (*i*) as a regent of her son and grandsons from 958 A. D. to 981 A. D. and (*ii*) as a queen from 981 A. D. to 1003 A. D. Immediately after the demise of Kshemagupta, the widowed queen, after a feigned show of immense grief gradually fastened her grip on the reins of government as the regent mother. Her role as the regent of her son and the three grandsons has already been noticed in some detail; her eventful career as queen may now be assessed.

Diddā as Queen.

The reign-period of Diddā as the full-fledged ruler of the valley covers almost a quarter of a century, yet, since Kalhaṇa has devoted only a few verses in accounting for it, it may reasonably be concluded that, beyond a few unsuccessful rebellions and some minor military engagements, nothing of note took place. However, the closing years of her reign were marked by certain political arrangements which, as shall be presently seen, ushered in the rule of a new dynasty in the valley.

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[1] Sircar, D.C., *Great Women of India*, p. 289; cf. also Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieaval India*, Vol. I, pp. 245-46.

[2] *R.T.*, I, vi, 179, 194-95.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 308.

Soon after Diddā had ascended the throne, Tuṅga took advantage of his intimacy with the queen and, gradually asserting himself, came to occupy the office of the chief minister superseding several others.[1] He also placed his brothers on other responsible posts and thus caused considerable heart-burning amongst the high officers of the state who had been so displaced.

Rebellion of Ministers and Vigraharāja.

It is easy to comprehend that such naked favouritism could not be tolerated by the ministers and the disgruntled officials and this naturally resulted in an abortive rebellion.[2] The dissatisfied elements soon entered into a conspiracy against the queen and Tuṅga, and invited Vigraharāja, a formidable warrior and son of Queen Diddā's brother. The astute Vigraharāja was quite conscious of his limitations against the queen and Tuṅga and took recourse to diplomacy instead of an open trial of arms. He instigated a section of the Brāhmaṇas holding the chief *agrahāras* to go on a fast unto death (*prāyopaveśa*) till their real and imaginary grievances were redressed.[3] This Brāhmaṇical fast had its repercussions on the other sections of the community as well, which. thinking Tuṅga to be the cause of all troubles, went on a hunt for him.[4] But the wily queen rose equal to the occasion; she concealed Tuṅga at an unknown place under heavy guard and won over the fasting Brāhmaṇas by offering them considerable gold.[5] Foiled in his scheme, Vigraharāja returned back to his native land disappointed.[6]

The situation easing, Tuṅga and his supporters ruthlessly dealt with the rebel leaders. Many of them were killed and some were banished from the valley, though later recalled.[7] But Vigraharāja continued to create further trouble and again incited a few Brāhmaṇas to go on fast through his secret emissaries.[1] However, the plot was soon discovered; the Brāhmaṇas were again won over by gold and the agents of Vigraharāja killed.[2] Many of the Brāhmaṇas who had accepted gold from the queen and had again resorted to fasting were imprisoned and so also some officials like Vatsarāja, a chamberlain.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 333.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 334.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 336.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 337.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 338-39.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 340.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 341-42.

The state of affairs at the Kashmir court naturally encouraged certain feudatories to declare their independence, Pṛithvīpāla, the ruler of Rājapurī being the foremost. As stated earlier, he had been humbled by Phalguṇa and had accepted the suzerainty of the Kashmir throne.[4] Anxious to throw off the yoke of subservience, he tried to assert himself and completely routed a section of Kashmiri forces led by a few ministers, some of whom were killed and the rest reduced to very straitened circumstances.[5]

The situation was, however, retrieved by Tuṅga, who marched along with his faithful followers, including his own brothers, to Rājapurī and took the defenders by surprise. The city was burnt down and Pṛithvīpāla was thoroughly vanquished.[6] He sued for peace.[7] Tuṅga was thus able to raise himself in esteem and was henceforth also given the command of the army.[8]

It appears that the Ḍāmaras were again proving a positive source of nuisance during this period. As stated earlier, their power had been considerably reduced by Phalguṇa and they were ever eager to fish in troubled waters. Very probably, they were secretly in league with Pṛithvīpāla, the ruler of Rājapurī and tried to take advantage of the situation. But their evil designs were soon brought to an end by Tuṅga who destroyed their strongholds.[9]

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1. *R.T.*, I, vi, 343.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 344-45.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 346-47.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 286.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 348-50.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 351-52.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 353.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 353-54.
9. The words '*Chakāra ḍāmaragrāma saṁhāram*' have been translated by Stein as meaning 'destroyed the hosts of the Ḍāmaras' (*R.T.*, I, vi, 354).

Appointment of Saṅgrāmarāja as *Yuvarāja.*

It has already been noticed that there was no rightful claimant left to the throne after the murder of the last of the grandsons of Diddā. Accordingly, Diddā chose Saṅgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja, as her successor and appointed him *yuvarāja* after a farcical test of intelligence, if we are to believe the story related by Kalhaṇa.[1] Thus, with the passing away of the queen in 1003 A. D., the throne of Kashmir passed into the hands of another dynasty—that of the Loharas.[2]

Diddā—an Estimate.

The career of this remarkable lady, who dominated the political scene of the valley for nearly half-a-century in varying capacities—as chief queen, regent, and ruler—presents a strange admixture of several traits of human character. Her lust for power and laxity of morals are justly impeached but none can deny her due for her presence of mind, tactfulness, firmness of purpose and political sagacity. As daughter of the Lohara house, she also had in her veins the proud Shāhi blood and was certainly unfortunate to have been afflicted by some physical deformity in her legs. This disadvantage must have affected her psychologically and soured her temperament to some degree and, very possibly, was responsible for her assertive obduracy from the very outset of her career.

Diddā's influence on Kshemagupta is apparent from the narrative of Kalhaṇa and there is no doubt in it as it is corroborated by available numismatic evidence. Unfortunately, Kshemagupta did not live long and Diddā was widowed at an early age. Displaying ready presence of mind, she saved herself from the funeral pyre of her husband and took over the regency of her minor son, Abhimanyu. Her career as regent (of her son and grandsons) is marked by the revengeful spirit as reflected in the manner in which she brought about the downfall of Phalguṇa and crushed the revolting Mahiman and Paṭala. The death of Abhimanyu broke her heart and the mother in her burst in a shortlived hectic activity of temple-

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However, the use of the word '*grāma*' here seems to be suggestive of certain villages which were strongholds of the Ḍāmaras or were in sympathy with them.

[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 355-62.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 365.

constructions and other pious deeds diverted her mind. Ambition for power, however, soon prevailed upon this mood and in her desire to wield supreme authority herself, she callously brushed aside her infant grandsons one after another without remorse or compassion. Weaknesses of the flesh, however, soon came to the fore (in her infatuation for Tuṅga) after her enthronement, but it must be conceded that she did not allow this failing to interfere with her governance. Her reign-period, as noted above, stretched for over two decades and with 'all her glaring defects Diddā was certainly gifted with energy and statesmanship of a high order. This is nowhere better attested than by this last step, which secured a change of dynasty without any political upheavals.'[1] She is justly classed in the front-rank of such celebrated women who have left a lasting impress of their personalities in the annals of Indian history.[2]

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[1] Ray, H. C., *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 135.

[2] Sircar, D. C., *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Vol. I, pp. 243-46.

9

THE ADVENT OF THE LOHARAS

The preceding two centuries, before the establishment of the Lohara dynasty in the valley of Kashmir, had undergone a far-reaching change in mid-Asiatic regions that was to subsequently affect the political, social and cultural life of the people not only in Kashmir but also on the Indian mainland. Islam, zealous and aggressive, had firmly established itself as the foremost religion on the north-western borders of India and was casting covetous eyes towards the mainland (of India). While the middle eastern Asiatic nations, lower eastern Europe, Egypt and large tracts of the upper African continent had 'bowed before the blast' with surprisingly little resistance, the Indian borderlands, contrary to what is often averred, did not yield too easily. Beginning with Al-Hajjaj and his nephew (also son-in-law) Mohammad bin Kasim in the closing decade of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries A.D., the Arabs had not been able to make any substantial headway beyond the lower plains of the Indus and in Sindh. In the north, however, they had been able to reach the southern foothills of the Kashmir valley.[1] It was only in the beginning of the 11th century when Saṅgrāmarāja had laid the foundations of the Lohara dynasty in the valley that Mahmud of Ghazni turned his eyes in that direction, as shall be seen below.

Saṅgrāmarāja, as noted earlier, came of the royal house of Lohara, a region which once formed part of the extensive empire of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the most famous of the Kārkoṭas. He was a nephew of the late queen Diddā and chosen by her as her successor; accordingly, after her death in 1003 A.D., the crown passed on to him without any hindrance or disturbance.

Saṅgrāmarāja (*c.* 1003-1028 A.D.).

The valley of Kashmir was passing through a critical phase of its history when Saṅgrāmarāja came to occupy the throne. Dark and portentous clouds—in the shape of Islamic hordes under the zealous Mahmud of Ghazni—were hovering at its borderlands. Economically, the country's resources and royal treasuries were deplete because of an effete administrative system and natural calamities. The officers of the state behaved in an irresponsible manner and Tuṅga, the favourite of the late queen, had gradually managed to have a complete command of the situation. Amid such limitations, it was not possible for Saṅgrāmarāja to assert himself and acquit creditably, though he had a fairly long reign of 26 years. Towards the later part of his reign, he was responsible for further deterioration of the already dismal situation and, though devoid of any vices, he could not assert himself.

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[1] Ray, H.C., *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 8.

Tuṅga at His Zenith.

The chief minister, Tuṅga, who had earlier distinguished himself both on the battlefield and the home front during the regime of Diddā, continued to dominate the early period of the reign of Saṅgrāmarāja. Both had been bound down in oath by the dying queen to live in harmony,[1] but the former interpreted it to his advantage. Fortunately for him, many of such officials who could pose a threat to him, died one after another, thus allowing him opportunities to further entrench his position by filling the vacant posts with his own men.[2] Saṅgrāmarāja was a helpless spectator of the affairs around him and could do nothing in consideration of the sacred vow taken by him earlier.[3] In sheer desperation, the king resigned his subjects to their fate and his duties of the state to Tuṅga and gave himself up to a life of ease and pleasures.[4] At the same time, in order to gain assistance in some form (not specified in the Chronicle) from a Brāhmaṇa state-officer, he gave his daughter in marriage to him, thereby lowering his prestige considerably in the eyes of his subjects.[5]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 8.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 3-6.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 7.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 9.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 10-11.

Brāhmanical Revolt.

The growing influence and hold of Tuṅga over the king and the administrative machinery caused considerable jealousy and dissatisfaction amongst the counsellors, particularly those who belonged to the Brāhmaṇa community.[1] The Brāhmaṇa counsellors, accordingly, instigated some *purohitas* and also others to undertake a solemn fast against the real and imaginary highhandedness of Tuṅga.[2] Saṅgrāmarāja was unable to cope with the situation, as the disgruntled Brāhmaṇas were prepared to dethrone him as well.[3] The revolt was instigated by one, Rājakalaśa, and the Brāhmaṇas, many of whom had been won over, were easily made to realize the folly of their actions. Some died in minor affrays, others were made to flee while their leaders were arrested and a few were even banished.[4] Peace was, however, restored after some further retributions and pardons in which an unsuccessful plot had been hatched up to assassinate Tuṅga.[5] In the meanwhile, many of the opponents of Tuṅga passed away and the revolt, far from lessening his influence at the royal court, further enhanced his prestige and hold on the king.[6]

It appears that Tuṅga, after quelling the Brāhmanical revolt, became injudicious and careless as is evident from his subsequent actions. In the first instance, he appointed Bhadreśvara, a Kāyastha of unsavoury reputation, as his personal assistant and subsequently placed him in charge of the *gṛihakṛitya* office after removing Dharmārka, a man of considerable ability and piety.[7] In the name of economy, Bhadreśvara cut down the maintenance allowances or grants (*vritti*) of such charitable institutions which had sustained temples and images (gods), cows, the Brāhmaṇas, the poor and the destitute and even a category of royal servants.[8] This made him extremely unpopular and also went against Tuṅga, whose protege he was.[9] To add to Tuṅga's misfortunes, his brother, Sugandhasiṁha, who had

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 13.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 13ff.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 15.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 26.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 29-30.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 28.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 38-42.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 43.
9. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 38-44.

all along been a tower of strength to him, also died and henceforth the influence of this powerful minister steadily declined by a series of circumstances in which he was vitally concerned and did not acquit himself creditably, as shall be presently seen.

Saṅgrāmarāja and the Shāhis.

Towards the close of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century A. D., the Ghaznavide Turks were gradually extending their sway towards the east and north-east, thereby posing a grave danger to the frontiers of India. Parts of Afghanistan and the north-western provinces of the undivided India were ruled by a Hindu dynasty, Shāhi by name, with its capital at Udabhāṇḍapura (Und.). A detailed account of its several generations of kings who braved the Islamic onslaught for several decades would hardly be met here, but it may be mentioned in passing that the three successive kings, Jayapāla, Ānandapāla, and Trilochanapāla were constantly at war with the Turks in defence of the gateway of India.[1] According to Prof. Habib, 'Afghanistan till the eighth century had been politically and culturally a part of India and its Turkish population had adopted the Buddhist creed. But the frontiers of Islam had been gradually pushed across the country and now the two forces stood opposite each other in the province of Lamghan on the southern side of the Kashmir valley.'[2] The Shāhis naturally fought to their best to preserve their domains and thereby obstructed the march of the 'Crescent in India'. But their country was poor and their resources meagre. Both Ānandapāla and Trilochanapāla were contemporaries of Saṅgrāmarāja. Trilochanapāla was quick to realize his own limitations and finding himself unable to meet the attacks of Mahmud, entrusting the command of his forces to his valliant son, Bhīmapāla, proceeded towards Kashmir to seek help from Saṅgrāmarāja.[3] The Chronicle, however, merely states that Trilochanapāla had sought help from the Kashmir king and does not mention his journey to the valley.[4] Saṅgrāmarāja was quick to realize the predicament of Tri-

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1. Majumdar, R.C., *Ancient India*, pp. 300-01, 307-08.
2. Habib, M., *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, p. 13.
3. Al-Utbi, *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, Elliot and Dowson, II, p. 38; Gardizi, *Kitab Zainul Akhbar*, p. 72.
4. *R.T.*, I, vii, 47.

lochanapāla and also the possible danger to the valley itself. He, therefore, sent Tuṅga with a large and well-equipped army to assist the Shāhi ruler[1]. This action of the king was quite in keeping with the fact that Tuṅga had, earlier, distinguished himself as a warrior on many occasions and was also related to the Shāhi king through the marriage of a Shāhi princess to his son.

Mahmud defeated Bhīmapāla (son of Trilochanapāla), compelled him to leave the fort of Nandana, which he occupied and tried to dislodge the latter from his hideout. In the meantime, Trilochanapāla and Tuṅga alone came forth to meet the invader.[2] The Shāhi king was quite familiar with the Turushka method of warfare and advised Tuṅga to remain ever vigilant and in trim fighting condition.[3] Tuṅga, however, did not heed his words and had a brush with a small detachment of Mahmud's patrolling troops which he easily defeated.[4] This initial success so turned Tuṅga's head that, unmindful of Trilochanapāla's warnings, he came down into the plains and was soon attacked by Mahmud's forces.[5] The Kashmir

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 47-48. The Shāhi-Kashmir relations have been discussed in detail in the *Bharatiya Vidya*, XXVII, Nos. I to 4 (1967), pp. 86-91.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 351, 53; vii, 3, 103. According to Bose (*History of the Candellas*, Bose, N. S., p. 58), Trilochanapāla succeeded Ānandapāla in 1009 A.D. Ganguly, however, is of opinion that the former succeeded the latter some time in 1012-13 A. D., (*Struggle for Empire*, p. 11). In any case, Stein is quite correct in his opinion that Tuṅga was sent to help Trilochanapāla in 1013 A. D. (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, vii, 47-69, Stein's note).

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 53. (Stein's note.) A brief survey of the course of events based on the accounts of Muslim chronicles has been presented by Ganguly in *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 11-12.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 53 (Stein's note).

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 54-55.

The Turk general has been mentioned by Kalhaṇa as Hammīra, but no source gives any information about any person named Hammīra, who had attacked India in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. The early foreign invaders who attacked India were Subuktigīn and Mahmud of Ghazni whose title was 'Amir'. Stein, however, suggests that Hammīra stands for 'Amirul-Mumenin'. But in the opinion of Nazim, Stein's view is improbable as he further says that 'Hammīra is an obvious adoptation forces were utterly routed despite individual feats of valour by some Kashmiri generals who preferred death to dishonour.[1] Soon Trilochanapāla had also to come out in the open to help Tuṅga and made a desperate attempt to save the day with the help of his elephant forces.[2] But the battle had already been won by Mahmud and both Trilochanapāla and Tuṅga had to beat a retreat. Tuṅga, thoroughly beaten, returned to Kashmir but Saṅgrāmarāja did not take action against him for bringing shame upon Kashmiri forces.[3]

Mahmud and Kashmir.

The defeat of Trilochanapāla and the ignominious fate of Tuṅga must have encouraged Mahmud to conquer Kashmir, though the Chronicle does not specifically relate any of his attempts in that direction. Certain indirect references, as shall be presently noticed, go to support the accounts of Muslim chroniclers that Mahmud made two attempts to conquer Kashmir but was unsuccessful on both occasions.[4] After the eclipse of Tuṅga, Saṅgrāmarāja had, on one occasion, dispatched three of his generals to meet the advancing Turushkas, but these had 'turned their backs to the foe' and sought shelter in their own land.[5] The Chronicle, however, does not specify who the leader of the Turushkas was, but in view of the clear testimony of both Gardizi and Alberuni, it can safely be assumed that these refer to the two unsuccessful attempts of Mahmud himself.[6] Firishta also refers to these attempts of Mahmud.[7] These testimonies have led Dr. Nazim to the conclusion that the famous warrior twice attempted

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of "Amir", the title by which Mahmud was generally known' (*R.T.*, I, Intro. p. 107; Nazim, M., *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazana*, p. 92, fn. 4., cf. also, Mitra, S. K., *Early Rulers of Khajurāho*, for a discussion on the occurrence of the word 'Hamvīra' and its application to Candella rulers and the Yamini Sultans of Ghazni.

[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 58.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 61-65.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 71.

[4] Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 18.

[5] *R.T.*, I, vii, 112.

[6] Gardizi, *Kitab Zainul Akhbar*, p. 70.

[7] Briggs, I, pp. 54-55, 65.

to bring Kashmir under the banner of the crescent, but was unsuccessful on both occasions, as asserted by Ganguly.[1]

First Invasion.

According to Muslim historians noted above, Mahmud tried to subjugate the valley some time in 1015 A.D., for the first time. Since Saṅgrāmarāja had assisted Trilochanapāla during his campaign against the Shāhis, there was enough reason for this attack.[2] Also, it is quite possible that, having had an easy experience of the Kashmiri forces on the earlier occasion, Mahmud thought them easy meat. With a sizable force at his command, he crossed the Jhelum and entered Kashmir through Toshmaidan pass.[3] There he had the impregnable fort of Lohkot before him and, though he tried his level best to pierce its defences, the fort 'defied all his efforts'.[4] At the same time, winter had set in and heavy snows cut off the sultan's communications and lines of supplies. After a month's siege, the attempt to capture the fort was given up.[5] On his return journey, the forces of Mahmud suffered terribly and the exhausted sultan had to return home unsuccessful for the first time in his numerous raids on the Indian soil.

Second Attack on Kashmir.

This first failure must have rankled hard in the memory of Mahmud who, after a lapse of some six years, again made an unsuccessful attempt on Kashmir in 1021 A.D. It is quite surprising that such an astute general as Mahmud, after considerable preparations for this second attack, chose practically the same path and found the same fort—Lohkot—a stumbling block in his designs. He laid siege of the fort, surrounding it from all sides, but was unable to beat down the spirit of its defenders. Unfortunately for the sultan, snow and sleet again took a heavy toll of his forces and providence smiled on the gallant defenders of the fort. Mahmud, broken in spirit, was forced to return home unsuccessful in his second venture as well. These two attempts remind us of the discomfiture of Napoleon Bonaparte in Russia where Moscow proved to be a graveyard of many of his soldiers under similar conditions. It may be noted in passing that Islam could make little headway in Kashmir till the 14th century, more than three centuries after the sad experiences of Mahmud.

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[1] Nazim, M., *S. M. G.*, p. 104; Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 18.

[2] Gardizi, *Kitab Zainul Akhbar*, p. 70; cf. Nazim, M., *S.M.G.*, p. 104.

[3] *R.T.*, II, pp. 293-95, 399.

[4] Habib, M., *M.G.*, p. 35.

[5] Gardizi, *Kitab Zainul Akhbar*, p. 73; cf. also Nazim, M., *S.M.G*, p. 105.

Downfall of Tuṅga.

We revert back to the affairs of Kashmir and the subsequent career as well as fate of Tuṅga. He had failed miserably against the Turushkas and thenceforth he gradually began to lose steadily his pre-eminent position in the state affairs. Though Saṅgrāmarāja did not hurt the feelings of Tuṅga after his failure in the battle against Mahmud, he was chafing within himself for his dependence on the latter.[1] At the same time, the king disapproved of the overbearing attitude of Kandarpasiṁha, son of Tuṅga, who was behaving like a king.[2] Also, Vigraharāja, the king's brother, who had never approved of Tuṅga, instigated Saṅgrāmarāja against Tuṅga through secret missives.[3] Yet the king, in consideration of the sacred libation entered into earlier (at the time of the death of Diddā), was always in two minds, and he was also not unmindful of the prowess of Tuṅga.[4] In a weak moment, the king gave vent to his feelings to the conspirators of whom Nāga, a brother of Tuṅga, was a party.[5] Soon a plot was hatched to assassinate Tuṅga which came to fruition within six months.[6] He was summoned by the king and, while entering the royal palace along with his son and a few followers and attendants, was brutally felled down by the swords of some conspirator-assailants and murdered along with his son. A few of his followers met similar fate while others laid down their arms and begged for mercy.[7] There was some show of resistance by a few

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 72.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 73.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 74.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 75, 77.
[5] *Ibid* , I, vii, 76, 100-01.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 79.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 85-87.

(of his followers) outside the palace after the heads of Tuṅga and his son were cut off and thrown out, but it was quickly suppressed.[1] The wealth and riches amassed by him and his family were seized and confiscated by the king and thus ended rather ingloriously the career of Tuṅga, who had so long enjoyed a position of enviable eminence in the affairs of the valley.

The Aftermath.

It was expected that after the exit of Tuṅga from the active political scene of the valley, Saṅgrāmarāja would assert himself and conditions improve. But, instead of any visible improvements, the affairs of the state went from bad to worse. Since Saṅgrāmarāja had himself been a party to the intrigue against Tuṅga, he could not easily dissociate himself from the conspirators, of whom Nāga, a brother of the slain minister, was a prominent member. This evil genius was elevated to the post of the chief of the armed forces and others were also similarly rewarded with high posts in administration.[2] The wicked Bhadreśvara, who succeeded Tuṅga, made himself extremely unpopular through exactions levied even on religious and charitable establishments.[3] Almost all high offices e. g., those of city-prefect, treasury, etc., were filled with persons of unsavoury reputation and the populace of the valley had to resign itself to its fate under their oppressive and exacting rule.[4]

Such a state of affairs afforded opportunities for internal disorders. Also, the threat of Turkish invasion, already referred to earlier, was looming large on the horizon. The Kashmiri forces sent out to meet occasional forages of the Turkish marauders, had heaped further ignominy by taking to their heels in such encounters, which proves that the armed forces were also completely demoralised.[5] Naturally therefore, powerful factions in the shape of Darads, clerks and the Ḍāmaras found opportunity to assert themselves against the king and his corrupt officers.[6] Unfortunately, the Chronicle is not specific about the nature of the disturbances or any possible uprising of these disgruntled elements, but it may be assumed that there was some sort of rivalry between the king's favourites at the court and in administration on the one hand and the powerful Ḍāmaras and Darads on the other.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 90-95.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 99-101.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 106.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 108-16, 125.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 118.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 119.

During the later years of his life, Saṅgrāmarāja had started taking considerable interest in building activities, but he did not live long after the minor uprising of the Ḍāmaras and the Darads and died in 1028 A.D., after a rule of 26 years. He was succeeded by his son, Harirāja, whose accession was peaceful.

Harirāja (*c.* 1028 A.D.).

Harirāja, who succeeded Saṅgrāmarāja ruled for less than a month.[1] According to Kalhaṇa, his short, butterfly rule was marked by an all-round improvement in the affairs of the state and the people had high hopes of amelioration in their living conditions, as the new king listened to wise counsel, strictly enforced obedience to his orders, and dealt sternly with such bands of thieves that had rendered markets unsafe at nights.[2] This lavish praise by the Chronicler has, however, to be taken with a degree of caution in view of his very short reign of 22 days, but it may safely be concluded that, in the flush of his accession, he introduced certain reforms on the advice of some wise men at the Kashmir court.[3] But the evil forces were soon at work and he came in conflict with the queen-mother, whose licentious habits he frowned upon.[4] According to Kalhaṇa, it was generally claimed that the ambitious and libidinous queen was responsible for the death of Harirāja.[5]

Ananta (*c.* 1028-1063 A.D.).

Harirāja was succeeded by his younger brother, Ananta, though not without some incidents. It appears that Śrīlekhā, the queen-mother, wanted the throne for herself, as Ananta, at what time, was a minor. She had visions of emulating the career of Queen Diddā and had even made preparations for her consecration but was prevented from succeeding in her scheme by the Ekāṅga nobles and others who seated the minor Ananta on the throne.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 127.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 128-29.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 131.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 133.
[5] *Ibid.*

Vigraharāja's Bid for the Throne.

Vigraharāja of Lohara, who was the paternal uncle of Ananta, posed a serious threat to the throne of Kashmir.[2] He marched down from Lohara to the capital with surprising speed and encamped at Loṭhikāmaṭha.[3] It appears that in face of this common danger, the queen-mother and the minor king were united and Śrīlekhā did a grand job by ordering the troops to encircle and burn down the *maṭha* which sheltered Vigraharāja.[4] The latter perished in that fire and a great threat was wiped off through the queen-mother's presence of mind, though she could not rid herself altogether of conspiratorial thoughts.[5]

Shāhi Dominance at Kashmir Court.

The royal house of the Shāhis, after braving the onslaughts of 'the Muslims for more than twenty-five years' had finally succumbed with the assassination of Trilochanapāla by some Hindus some time in 1021 A.D.[6] Some members of this illustrious royal family sought refuge at the Kashmir court and had, within a short time, won over the favour of Ananta, who had, by this time, sufficiently grown up.[7] By virtue of their old relationship and also because of their royal descent, many of them drew large salaries and were proving a constant drain on the royal coffers.[8] Rudrapāla, the chief amongst them, even harboured anti-social elements, while another was always on the look out for robbing temples and idols.[9] The former was in league with the tyrannical Kāyastha officials of the state and, in order to further strengthen his position at the court, had arranged the marriage of his wife's sister—a daughter of the ruler of Jālandhara—with Ananta.[1] This matrimony had far-reaching effects; Rudrapāla's position at the court became unassailable and he was the king's best confidant, though for worse.[2]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 134-135.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 139-40.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 141.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 142.
[6] Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 17.
[7] *R.T.*, I, vii, 143-44.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 144-46.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 147-48.

Ḍāmara Uprising.

This dominance of the Shāhi princes at the Kashmir court could not be taken down idly by the Ḍāmaras who, from time to time, had also figured as trouble-makers in the valley. Since Tribhuvana, a Ḍāmara, was commander-in-chief (*kampanādhipati*) of the armed forces, they (the Ḍāmaras) found a ready tool to assert themselves and capture the throne.[3] Tribhuvana had with him the support of the entire armed forces except the cavalry and the Ekāṅgas, the latter being another powerful section worth reckoning.[4] According to Kalhaṇa, the indolent Ananta, for once, shook off his lassivity and himself took the field against Tribhuvana.[5] Exhibiting extraordinary courage and skill at arms, he slew many of the prominent Ḍāmaras, and even Tribhuvana, after being severely wounded, had to run for life.[6] The uprising was thus quelled and the king, out of gratitude to such Ekāṅgas who had stood fast with him and been wounded, made fixed grants for them.[7] He also rewarded his

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 150-52.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 153.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 154.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 155.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 156.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 157-61.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 161-62. According to Stein, verse 162 would mean that 'he (the king).........out of kind feeling relieved the Ekāṅgas of the uncertain dependence on the *Akṣapaṭala* office (and gave them instead) a fixed assignment (*Vilabdhisthāvara*).' In the footnote, he adds: 'The purport of our passage seems to be that the king, to show his gratitude, relieved the *Ekāṅgas* who had been wounded in his service from their harassing duties at the *Akṣapaṭala* and fixed for them an assignment independent of that office, i.e., a sort of pension.' (*R.T.*, I, vii, 161-62 and fn.).

But the word *Vilabdhisthāvara* as explained by M. Monier-Williams (*S. E. D.*, pp. 984 & 1264) to mean a 'fixed' (*sthāvara*) 'grant' (*Vilabdhi* from *Vilabh*) is more appropriate. Therefore, it may be interprated, in own followers and servants handsomely.[1] Further, he extended his generosity to the discomfited Tribhuvana too, who came back seeking pardon.[2]

Fresh Troubles.

But the troubles of Ananta were not yet over; the Ḍāmaras and other hostile forces soon joined hands and posed a far greater threat. It appears that the Ḍāmaras, led by Brahmarāja (the latter having quarrelled with the Shāhi Rudrapāla) entered in league with the Darad king or chief, Achalamaṅgala, and some 'Mlechchhas'—obviously Muslims, who were ever ready to fish in such troubled waters.[3] The identity of these Muslim 'princes', seven in number, cannot be established, but, according to Vaidya 'a treacherous Kashmir sardar brought into Kashmir an invasion by Turks assisted by Daradas.'[4] On the other hand, Ray does not consider these 'Mlechchhas' to have been Turks and suggests the possibility of their being some tribal leaders living on the frontier of Kashmir and converted to Islamic faith by that time.[5] Stein also takes them to have been Muslims.[6] Curiously enough, as pointed out by Stein, Bilhaṇa, in his *Vikramāṅka-devacharita*, refers to a victory of Ananta over the combined forces of the Darads and the Śakas.[7] It can, therefore, be assumed that the Śakas

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brief that the king rewarded the wounded Ekāṅgas with 'fixed grants' and that the beneficiaries were not to be inconvenienced of the office of the *Akshapaṭala* through any kind of official red-tapism. For, in the very next verse, Kalhaṇa again uses the word *Vilabdhi* in the context of the king's servants where it is followed by the word '*Kramāt.*' Here *Vilabdhi* again means 'a grant' and '*Kramāt*' indicates 'regular' or 'hereditary' (M. Monier-Williams, *Ibid.*, p. 319).

[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 163.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 165.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 166-67.

[4] Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, III, p. 310.

[5] Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 60. The opinion of Ray seems more plausible as is known that the spread of Islam was possible through militancy in its early stages. It is likely that many petty tribes in the neighbourhood of Kashmir had been converted to Islamic faith by that time after the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni.

[6] *R.T.*, I, vii, 168 (Stein's note).

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 168.

referred to by Bilhaṇa were tribal chiefs converted to Islam and had formed a league with the Darads and disgruntled Ḍāmaras to attack Kashmir.

This confederacy posed a grave danger to the security and freedom of the valley and, for the first time, Kashmir had to face a confederate attack upon its green lands and vales. The combined forces, led by the Darad chief, Achalamaṅgala, entered Kashmir territories and were opposed by the royal troops led by Rudrapāla Shāhi.[1] In the ensuing exchange of arms, Rudrapāla killed Achalamaṅgala and many of the Muslim chiefs were done to death or captured.[2] According to Kalhaṇa, considerable booty fell into the hands of Ananta, but since the invaders were worsted within his own domains, it may be concluded that the spoil could not have been much and must have been collected by the invaders on their marauding move from the king's own subjects.[3]

The troubles of the king were, however, not yet over. He had to face a minor revolt led by his brother Udayanavatsa, and also some disturbance caused by a section of some Brāhmaṇas who had resorted to fasting on grouses not specified in the Chronicle.[4]

Meanwhile, Rudrapāla, who had distinguished himself in the defence of the valley, died and was followed by other Shāhi princes.[5] The evil influence of the Shāhis thus being over, 'the king found pleasure in virtuous life.'[6] Henceforth he was much influenced by his pious queen, Sūryamati, who not only played a significant role in the affairs of the state but also became famous in the annals of Kashmir for her numerous religious endowments.[7]

Death of Rājarāja and Transfer of Royal Abode.

While some building activities inspired by the queen were in progress, Ananta was unfortunate to lose his beloved son, Rājarāja. The royal couple was so grief-stricken that they left the palace and started residing near the temple of Sadāśiva, which subsequently became the habitual

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 168-69.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 170-75.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 17.5
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 177.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 178.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 179.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 180-85.

residence of subsequent kings.[1] The extravagance and certain weaknesses of the king had emptied the royal treasury which, one may readily conclude, was already deplete because of the queen's activities of establishing religious benefactions and building activities. The king, who had a passion for fine horses, was systematically robbed by a foreigner who traded in them and his weakness of betel-chewing told heavily on his purse so much so that the queen had to come to his rescue in meeting his debts.[2] According to Kalhaṇa, one Padmarāja, 'a foreigner', who used to supply betel to king Ananta, had come to Kashmir and was instrumental in sending regularly the holy waters in glass jars from the Pāpasūdana tank to the court of King Bhoja Paramāra of Dhārā.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 186-87.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 190-98.

[3] The legend of Bhoja Paramāra building a tank in Kashmir is quite credible and accepted by both Munshi and Ganguly as a fact (Munshi, K. M., *The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, p. 285; Ganguly, D. C., *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 274-75). Stein is also inclined to believe it (*R. T.*, I, vii, 190-93, Stein's note). There are reasons to believe that Bhoja Paramāra, king of Dhārā, maintained very cordial relations with Ananta, whose territories in the south touched the borders of Champā (modern Chamba state) which, in the first half of the 11th century, was ruled by one Sātavāhanadeva who had adopted the imperial titles of *Pāramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* (I.A., Vol. XVII, pp. 8-9). According to the Tilakwada grant of Bhoja, the latter's general, Sūrāditya defeated one king Sāhavāhana. This Sāhavāhana must have been the same king who is referred to as King Sāla or Sālavāhana of Champā defeated by Ananta (*R.T.*, I, vii, 218). As such, the friendship between Ananta and Bhoja Paramāra was not without reasons. Since the Tilakwada grant of Bhoja is calculated to have been dated in 1047 A.D., Bhoja must have attacked Sāhavāhana (alias Sālavāhana) some time before that date (1047 A.D.). It is quite possible that Bhoja and Ananta both attacked Champā some time in between 1028 and 1031 A.D., simultaneously. *Ibid.*, (Stien's note).

That Bhoja was an intensely religious man and a great builder, goes without saying. Also, he would have wished to cement this friendship with Ananta against a common enemy by something concrete. As a devout Śaiva, Bhoja must have heard of the sanctity of Pāpasūdana *tīrtha* and Kapaṭeśvara, not Kapāleśvara as Munshi seems to have read it (Munshi, K.M., *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, p. 285) and of its holy waters. The traditional story of Muchukunda and the healing properties of the waters of the tank would have prompted Bhoja to give it a proper shape and

The only redeeming feature from the people's point of view was the keen interest taken by the pious queen, Sūryamatī, in the affairs of the state and being a gifted person, she soon brought about some orderliness in the administrative system of the valley.[1] Unfortunately, the Chronicle does not inform as to what these 'troubles' were or how 'affairs became more settled in the country'; but, judging from the earlier account, it may be concluded that royal fortunes and finances of the state were considerably improved. Henceforth Ananta was completely dominated by Sūryamatī and much of his time was spent in religious meditations.[2] The finances of the state showed distinct improvement and the administrative machinery

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adorn its precincts with temples, the ruins of which were noticed by Stein. The local tradition of the tank being built not by a king of Kashmir but by a king of Deccan is hence quite credible, as Paramāra kingdom lay to the south of Kashmir. It is not without interest to note that the name of 'Muchukunda' figures in *Bhojaprabandha* as well (cf. M. Monier-Williams, *S. E. D.* p. 821). Bhoja, in all likelihood, had sent Padmarāja to Kashmir, who is referred to in the Chronicle as a foreigner (vii, 190) and received the waters from that tank regularly through his agency. It should, however, be remembered that of all local dynasties ruling in the 11th century A.D., only Bhoja was gifted with the foresight to realize the consequences of Muslim advancements on the Indian frontiers. He not only helped Ānandapāla Shāhi against Mahmud of Ghazni in 1008 A.D., but also gave shelter to his son, Trilochanapāla in 1019 A.D. Again, in 1043 A.D., he undertook a campaign along with other Hindu chiefs into the Punjab and besieged Lahore for 7 months. It is thus quite possible for him to have caused the construction of the tank and a temple some time in 1043 A.D. when he was in the plains of the Punjab for such a long time. Since Ananta was his contemporary in Kashmir, it may be concluded that Kalhaṇa's account is quite correct and that Bhoja financed these building activities (cf. also *Struggle for Empire*, p. 67). This recalls to one's mind the construction of a *Vihāra* at Nalanda by Bālaputradeva, the king of Suvarṇadvīpa, and his request to king Devapāladeva to grant five villages for the maintenance of that monastery. It is, therefore, not surprising that Bhoja constructed a tank in the land of another king. Such acts for the attainment of religious merits seem to have been performed by royal persons in the land of a friendly neighbour in ancient India (*E.I.*, XVII, pp. 310-27).

[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 198-99.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 200-01.

showed signs of reforms.[1] But the queen was unfortunate in choosing Haladhara, who had risen in her esteem from a low rank, as her chief minister, who completely dominated the political scene and made his influence felt even on the royal couple.[2] Yet it goes to his credit that he soon subdued the petty recalcitrant chiefs who had been getting out of hand in the absence of the martial Shāhis and could have proved a positive source of threat to the king.[3]

Administrative Reforms.

With the active support of the queen, Haladhara, having stabilised the security of the state, initiated some administrative reforms aimed at the betterment of the subjects. He raised the *pīdāgra* office to greater importance and brought it directly under his (chief minister's) control.[4] This office was first introduced by Kshema and was a source of increasing the treasures by some sort of taxation, the exact nature of which cannot be definitely ascertained. Secondly, he put a stop to the royal prerogative of assessing and stamping gold in possession of private individuals as it was often abused by state officers who, at times, robbed the subjects on the strength of their knowledge through such assay.[5] This step was, no doubt, beneficial to the people but it cut down the powers of the king and his successors.[6] Having achieved success through these measures and enhanced his esteem in popular eyes, Haladhara overhauled the administrative mechinery by ridding it of greedy, exacting and immoral officers through strong reprimands and punishments.[7] There was considerable building activity as well and the confluence of the rivers Indus and Jhelum was beautified by the construction of numerous *maṭhas*.[8] In all these welfare activities Haladhara seems to have been assisted by some members of his family who held high offices in the state and, contrary to what has often

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 202-05.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 208-09.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 209.
4. *Ibid.*, I, viii, 210 (Stein's note).
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 211-12.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 211-12.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 213.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 208.

been noted in these pages, never abused their position and rank or became oppressive.[1]

Khaśa Uprising and Conquests by Ananta.

Ananta, however, did not have a smooth sailing. Soon the doughty Khaśas rose in rebellion against him and Haladhara had to meet their challenge.[2] There is a suggestive current in the description of the Chronicle which leads to suspect that a few Ḍāmaras had also joined hands with the Khaśas, otherwise Kalhaṇa would not have named the two in the same verse.[3] Haladhara dispatched his nephew, Bimba, who had earlier killed many Ḍāmaras, to punish the Khaśas. The royal troops were fewer in number and Bimba lost his life in this encounter, though he exhibited great courage.[4] The Khaśas, apparently, were subdued and Haladhara out of revenge, must have dealt harshly with them though the Chronicle is silent about the subsequent events. But some light is shed by the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* of Bilhaṇa, according to whom, the rulers of Champā, Dārvābhisāra, Trigarta and Bhartula (Vartula) accepted Ananta's supremacy.[5] It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the victories referred to here were gained over the rulers of the territories mentioned above.

With Haladhara taking care of internal administration, Ananta embarked upon a scheme of conquests in order to add fresh laurels to his glory. According to Kalhaṇa, he gained victories over several kings but they have not been specified either by name or by the territories over which they ruled.[6] But his campaign against Sāla (Sālavāhana), ruler of Champā, has been singled out by the Chronicler.[7] King Sāla of the Chronicle has been identified by Sālavāhana, predecessor of Somavarmadeva whose existence is proved by epigraphic evidence as well.[8] Ananta's

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 215-16.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 217.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 217.
5. Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, XVIII, 38.
6. *R.T.*, I, vii, 218.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 218, (Stein's note)
8. *I.A.*, XVII, p. 7 ff.

supremacy over the ruler of Champā and others is also corroborated by *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* of Bilhaṇa and, therefore, the expedition and conquest may be taken as a fact.[1] According to Cunningham, Champā was invaded by Ananta some time in between 1028 and 1031 A.D., though, as pointed out by Stein, he does not furnish any grounds for his dates.[2] Goetz, however, suggests that the invasion took place in 1059-60 A.D., and that Sālavāhana was 'defeated and killed'.[3] In view of the fact that both Bhoja Paramāra and Ananta are said to have defeated King Sāla [assuming that Sāla (vāhana) and Sāhavāhana were one and the same person, as has been discussed earlier], it may be concluded that Ananta defeated Sāla some time much earlier. It has been already seen that this conquest was one of the factors in the friendship of Ananta and Bhoja Paramāra, and Bhoja had died in 1055 A.D.[4]

This success against the ruler of Champā so emboldened Ananta that he undertook a series of rash and often unplanned campaigns against other petty chieftains. Though his soldiers were tired and exhausted, he marched forth against Kalaśa, the ruler of Vallāpura (Ballapura) only to be entrapped by his enemies and was saved by Haladhara who showed great presence of mind.[5] Similarly, he put himself in a very precarious position while invading Uraśa and could extricate himself from catastrophe with the timely help of his commander-in-chief who made his retreat safe.[6] But, in spite of certain minor difficulties in the beginning, he was, on the whole, successful in his expeditions and enhanced his reputation on the field as well.

Uprisings and Haladhara in Disgrace.

Trouble, however, was brewing within his own dominions. Taking advantage of his long absence from the capital on conquering expeditions, there were violent uprisings against him in which the Ḍāmaras played the main role and even succeeded in killing some high officers of the state.[1] But normalcy was soon restored when the king and Haladhara returned to the capital and, it may be presumed, the Ḍāmaras were soon humbled and punished for their misdeeds. Apart from these, there was fresh trouble that vitally affected the administration; the trusted Haladhara fell in disgrace. It appears that foul rumours, born of the frequent visits to the queen for instructions, were set afloat by a section of ministers and other state dignitaries and he was cast behind the bars by Aśvachandra, who was obviously in the confidence of the king also, as he promptly seized his (Haladhara's) entire property.[2] The king, however, realized his folly soon afterwards and restored him to his former office after setting him free.[3] But Haladhara could never become his previous-self again as he had, per force, to follow the queen's instructions and had to bear the changing moods of the latter who was angry at one moment and solicitous at another.[4] His difficulties were increasing every day as the aging king was progressively falling under the domination of Queen Sūryamatī and could hardly take any decision on his own.[5] There was also a difference between him and the king, as the latter, on the advice of the queen, wanted to relinquish the throne in favour of his son, Kalaśa.[6]

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[1] *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, XVIII, 38.

[2] *R.T.*, I, vii, 218 (Stein's note).

[3] Goetz, H., *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, p. 34; cf. also Vogel, J. Ph., *Antiquities of Chamba State*, I, p. 102.

[4] Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 67.

[5] *R.T.*, I, vii, 220.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 221.

Renunciation of Throne by Ananta.

As noted above, the king under the pressing influence of Sūryamatī, decided to relinquish office and seat his son, Kalaśa, on the throne, though he was advised by Haladhara and others against such a step.[7] But the queen prevailed over the feeble-minded Ananta and all opposition. At last, in 1063 A.D., his active rule came to an end, though he was destined to play a none too prominent role in the early days of Kalaśa's reign.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 223.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 225-26.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 227.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 228.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 229.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 230-31.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 232.

10

KALAŚA
(1063-1089 A.D.)

The valley of Kashmir witnessed one of its worst phases of political misrule, suspicion, mistrust, intrigues and internecine clashes, during the period immediately following the abdication of Ananta. As stated earlier, Ananta had been goaded by Sūryamatī to hand over the reins of government to Kalaśa and the latter's assumption of office made his parents regret their decision, as shall be presently seen. Also, Kalaśa, all through his inglorious reign, had to face the shadow of an impending doom at the hands of his son, Harsha, and other relatives. All these factors ushered in an era of uncertainty in which the people were made to suffer most while the officials, ever busy in court intrigues and changing loyalties, enjoyed at the cost of the masses.

The day Kalaśa was crowned, Ananta was made to realise the folly of his decision by one of his ministers who also told him that such action (abdication) would pinch his feelings every day of his remaining life.[1] The king also seems to have not quite given up his lust for power and, with Haladhara on his side, managed to regain real authority, thereby reducing Kalaśa to a nominal figurehead.[2] It appears that, from the very beginning, the ministers had been against Kalaśa's assumption of regal office and, by bringing Ananta again into active politics, scored a great diplomatic victory over the supporters of the former.[3]

This sudden reversal to the old state of affairs placed Kalaśa in a nice predicament; he could neither assert his own authority against the ministers and Ananta nor could he rest content as the titular king. Yet, he had the foresight to submit to the wishes of his parents as there was a change of heart for worse even in Sūryamatī, his most ardent supporter.[1] For the latter too, seemed to regret her early vociferous support for Kalaśa, (and, out of jealousy, treated his wives with contempt, making them realise in no uncertain terms as to who wielded the real authority).[2]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 237-38.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 240-43.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 244.

Ananta and Kshitirāja of Lohara.

Thus, while Ananta was actively looking after the administration, he was visited by his cousin, Kshitirāja, the ruler of Lohara.[3] By a strange irony of fate, he came to Ananta at a time with a problem which must have deeply affected Ananta. Kshitirāja had a son, Bhuvanarāja by name, and the latter was conspiring with the ruler of Nīlapura to oust his father (Kshitirāja) and usurp the throne.[4] Kshitirāja, too, was determined to renounce his title, yet, at the same time, he was unwilling that his son succeed in his evil designs. Soon a settlement was reached between him and Ananta. The latter agreed to proclaim and place a young and second son of Kalaśa, on the throne of Lohara and promptly dispatched the child to Lohara under the care of Tanvaṅgarāja, another relative who was very faithful to him.[5] Kshitirāja was thus able to proceed on pilgrimage and died a few years after at Chakradhara.[6]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 248.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii 248-250.

[3] According to Kalhaṇa, Kshitirāja was the son of Vigraharāja, uncle of Ananta (*pitrivyajo*, *R.T.*, I, vii, 251). Bilhana, however, makes him a brother of queen Sūryamatī (*Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, XVIII, 47). It is quite possible that Ananta had married his cousin, and both Kalhaṇa as well as Bilhaṇa are correct, as such marriages were not uncommon in those regions as also elsewhere. Kshitirāja and Bhoja Paramāra of Dhārā are referred to as contemporaries and since Bhoja died in *c.* 1055 A.D., (*Struggle for Empire*, p. 67), Kshitirāja seems to have offered refuge and patronage to some poets who sought shelter with rulers of similar disposition. In any case, the contemporaneity of Ananta, Bhoja and Kshitirāja is well established both by Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa on the one hand and that of Ananta and Sālavāhana (Sāla of Kalhaṇa) by the epigraphic evidence noted earlier.

[4] Nothing is known about Nīlapura, cf. *R.T.*, I, vii, 253, (Stein's note).

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 260.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 257-58.

Trouble, however, was brewing on the home-front. Once again the haughty Ḍāmaras rose in revolt and since the government was dominated by the queen and her advisers, they (the Ḍāmaras) hoped to take advantage of the unsettled state of affairs.[1] The Ḍāmaras had organised themselves under a one-eyed leader, Śobha by name, and the queen, in order to meet this challenge, called Jindurāja, a brave person.[2] The latter was soon able to crush the uprising and killed Śobha, whereupon he was made the commander-in-chief and was able to cause fear amongst the petty feudals who were compelled to pay the royal share of dues somewhat regularly.[3] The aged Haladhara, who had stood fast with Ananta and Sūryamatī so long, also died at about this time, though not without warning the king to be wary of Jindurāja, whose popularity was growing every day.[4] The king took his words literally and contrived through the Shāhi Bijja to cast Jindurāja into prison, thereby inviting fresh troubles through a series of events which he had neither the courage nor the energy to cope with.[5]

Kalaśa Takes to Evil Ways.

It is easy to comprehend that Kalaśa, who had thus been deprived of active participation in the administration by his parents, found idleness hanging heavy over him and took to evil ways. Very soon he was surrounded by a group of treacherous persons and attendants who availed of every opportunity to create bad relations between him and Ananta.[6] The Chronicle furnishes a detailed account of his bad habits, company and practices in which he had the active support of a few Shāhi princes headed by Bijja.[7] At last Ananta could bear his acts of ignominy no longer and decided to cast him aside in favour of Harsha, a son of Kalaśa.[8] It appears that Ananta was still hesitant; for after sending for him he

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 262-66.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 265.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 265-67.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 271.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 272.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 273.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 274 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 319.

allowed Kalaśa to come to his inner royal apartments aided by Bijja.[1] The anger of the queen, Sūryamatī, knew no bounds and though both wanted to imprison Kalaśa nothing came of it.[2] In sheer vexation, Ananta and Sūryamatī left the capital with a large body of followers and the entire treasury, and decided to spend the rest of their days at Vijayeśvara, beyond the Jhelum.[3] Many nobles and disgruntled Ḍāmaras also came to his side and were appointed by the ex-king (Ananta) to look after the defences of the new township of Vijayeśvara which, from a mere holy shrine, had overnight become royal abode.[4] He left Srinagar in 1079 A. D.[5]

Kalaśa Assumes State Responsibilities.

Kalaśa, who was so long a mere titular head, now assumed full powers and found himself in difficult waters as the entire treasury had been carried away by Ananta.[6] But the new king soon made fresh administrative arrangements in consultation with his Shāhi associate, Bijja, and Jayānanda was appointed prime minister.[7] Having brought the administrative machinery into function, he set about collecting a large army, as he was all the while labouring under the fear of an attack from his father.[8] Having thus gathered a large army, he set free Jindurāja, who was rotting in prison, won him over to his side and set out to attack his father.[9] The news soon reached Ananta and the state cavalry as well as the Ḍāmaras took sides and a trial of arms became imminent.[10] The clash was, however, averted by Sūryamatī who, out of love for Kalaśa, dissuaded both sides from resorting to bloodshed.[11] Torn between his duty to his former subjects on the one hand and the restraining hand of the queen on the other,

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 331.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 333-35.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 336-37.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 357-60.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 361.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 363.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 364.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 366-67.
9. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 368-69.
10. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 370-71.
11. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 372-81.

Ananta, chagrined at heart, could only remain a helpless spectator of his son's evil ways and spent his days most unhappily.[1] Passively he heard every day stories of vengeful retaliation by Kalaśa on his own trusted and faithful men, but could do nothing because of Sūryamatī.[2] He even thought of getting rid of Kalaśa and handing over the crown to one of the sons of Tanvaṅga but the latter refused the offer.[3] The queen, sensing Ananta's determination, called for Harsha, son of Kalaśa, and soon a new turn was given to the course of subsequent history of this dynasty in which the father and the son moved apart for another generation.[4]

The news of Harsha crossing over to Ananta greatly disturbed Kalaśa. Politically, he found himself isolated and for a time, he ceased to oppose and irritate his aged father and also tried to make peace with Harsha.[5] At the same time, the Brāhmaṇas of the valley started a solemn fast with a view to bring together the two warring factions and an uneasy amity was, however, restored between them.[6] This would indicate that the aforesaid community was quite alive to the consequences of such a state of affairs and played a no mean part in the politics of the day.

But such a truce could not last long. After a stay of some months in the capital, the royal parents went back to Vijayeśvara as they were afraid of imprisonment at the hands of Kalaśa and his advisers.[7] Kalaśa retaliated by destroying horse-fodder of the ex-king's troops and also succeeded in killing a large number of his foot-soldiers.[8] Immediately after, he also set fire to Ananta's residential quarters at Vijayeśvara and reduced the royal couple to wretched conditions by prohibiting labourers from reconstructing the town.[9] Ananta and his followers were reduced to utter destitution as all their wealth and belongings had been consumed in the conflagration. Having thus humbled and weakened Ananta, Kalaśa now ordered him to

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 384-86.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 387.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 390.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 391 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 396-97.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 400-01.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 402.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 403.
9. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 408-12, 418.

leave the country and retire to Parṇotsa, which suggestion was also mooted by the queen (Sūryamatī).[1]

Finally, Ananta could bear it no longer. He burst forth in a fit of anger, blaming the queen for what had happened and even revealed the secret that Kalaśa was not his son nor born of Sūryamatī but a substitute for the king's dead child.[2] The ever-haughty queen again taunted him for his lust for authority.[3] Her words proved too much to the aged, miserable king and, chafing under the stress of despair and desolation, he committed suicide in A.D. 1081, bringing thereby to close an unhappy chapter in the annals of the valley.[4] Queen Sūryamatī followed him on the funeral pyre, though not without longing to see Kalaśa for the last time who, however, did not turn up.[5] Thus the maternal affection and the filial tone which had brought about much domestic and political trouble, received a severe shock at the arrogance of the spoiled son.

Kalaśa and Harsha.

The story of the relations between Kalaśa and his son, Harsha, were virtually a repetition of what had happened between him and his father, Ananta, though dissimilar in details and consequence.[6] Harsha, as stated earlier, had joined Ananta but was now approached by Kalaśa with overtures for a reconciliation and peace.[7] There were enough reasons for this attitude of Kalaśa; he had neither money nor popular esteem and could ill-afford a feud at this juncture.[8] Ultimately, amity was, for a time, restored between the two. Harsha was allowed to keep the treasures of his grand-parents in return for a fixed allowance (*pratyāhavetana*) to the king and came back to the capital.[1] Since then Kalaśa seems to have mended his ways and practised frugality.[2] He also had the fortune of falling upon the accumulated treasures of a Ḍāmara chief, Jayyaka by name, who had grown quite powerful but was killed while leading an attack on Bhāṅgila (the present-day sub-division of Bangil).[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 420-22.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 423-38.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 441-44.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 445-52.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 468-86.

The attitude of Sūryamatī, though not a first example of its type was, however, extremely devoid of any consideration for the well-being of the kingdom, her subjects or even her own husband. It can be said in her defence that she was blind with her maternal feelings.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 487 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 488.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 488.

Administrative Reforms of Kalaśa.

It can readily be imagined that, with domestic feuds and internal dissensions, Kalaśa could not have much time to look after administration ever since his father had handed the reins of government till a reconciliation with Harsha. Now that he was secure and free from earlier anxieties, he began to pay serious attention in this direction.[4] In the first place, he took over the department of finance under his personal supervision, checked all income himself and regulated all expenses with an eye on future income.[5] Secondly, he maintained regular hours at the court and fixed his time for attending to each business and meeting with officials.[6] His next step was the appointment of a net-work of spies and informers who watched over the activities of all people and even strangers.[7] His keen financial brain did not allow the ministers scope for defalcations and if any losses were incurred through their mistakes he held himself responsible for them.[8] There was a marked improvement in his relations with neighbouring rulers and his own chieftains who were made to realise his superiority and authority through both indirect and direct supervision and control.[1] Similar policy of appeasement towards the sons of Tanvaṅga and also others by lavish gifts and employment in service ensured domestic peace and the people soon began to reap the fruits of a just and benign rule.[2] As usual with all Kashmir kings, he, too, undertook construction of numerous temples, one even designed by a Turushka, and 'built afresh' the town of Vijayeśvara which had been destroyed earlier by fire through his own doings.[3] Yet, he was not able to discipline himself to a righteous conduct and his association with persons of immoral character resulted in his maintaining a quite large seraglio of women, many of whom were brought from the Turushka country.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 490-92.

The term *pratyāhavetana* has been interpreted by both Stein and Pandit to mean 'daily allowance'. Ram Tej Shastri, however, interprets it to mean yearly salary in his Hindi translation (vii, 490; p. 221). Perhaps he breaks it into *prati+aha+vetana* and derives the inference of an yearly allowance or salary from an interpretation akin to that which has been given by M. Monier Williams (*S. E. D.*, p. 124) to *aha* (1) which purports to mean 'it is true, I grant, granted', etc. But the term does not seem to clearly indicate fixation of the allowance on an yearly basis (see also chapter on Administration).

[2] *R.T.*, I, vii, 493.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 494-99.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 506.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 507-08.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 510.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 511.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 514.

The Rājapurī Affairs.

During the later years of his reign, Kalaśa was engrossed in the affairs of Rājapurī, a neighbouring state.[5] A few facts may be briefly summed up as below : Sahajapāla, the ruler of that state, died leaving a minor son, Saṅgrāmapāla, who was placed on the throne by the ministers and councillors. But the throne and accession was contested by the deceased king's brother, Madanapāla, who had managed to gain sufficient power and had a no less following.[6] The sister of Saṅgrāmapāla, and Jasarāja, a noble of high standing, came to Kalaśa seeking assistance for the child-king.[7] Sensing his own gain, Kalaśa promptly dispatched Jayānanda and Shāhi Bijja with a large force who quickly dealt with Madanapāla and other refractory elements.[8] Jayānanda obviously stayed there along with Bijja to restore normalcy, but the councillors and ministers of Saṅgrāmapāla thought otherwise and became suspicious.[9] Jayānanda also got suspicious

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 516.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 515, 517-18.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 524-32.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 519-23.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 533 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 534.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 535.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 534.
9. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 537.

of Bijja and felt that the latter had aided and abetted the ministers in their insistence for his departure.[1] Ultimately, he decided to leave Rājapurī but stationed his troops there on the ground that their presence was necessary from the point of view of safety.[2] Kalaśa, who was intelligent enough to read the actions of Jayānanda, was quite pleased to have the *de facto* possession of Rājapurī under his care.[3] Unfortunately for him, Jayānanda did not live long after this; he was taken severely ill and, in confidence, related to the king the affairs at Rājapurī and also the illegal ways through which Bijja had amassed a large fortune. Bijja, too, sensed the king's mood and, with his permission, left the country along with his family and belongings.[4] Several ministers impressed upon the king the need for the confiscation of his wealth, but the latter wisely refrained from doing so.[5] Jayānanda also died soon after, leaving behind a big void amongst the king's confidants.[6] Jindurāja, too, died about the same time and so also Bijja, who had repaired to Gauḍa along with his followers after leaving the valley.[7]

These sudden deaths of tried and tested men created a void in the administrative scheme and hierarchy of Kalaśa. Consequently, he appointed Vāmana as his chief minister as the latter was not only a man of experience and integrity but also possessed of administrative skill.[8] At the same time, the king avoided placing men of questionable mettle on responsible posts and even circumspected tactfully his own sons whom he did not trust implicitly.[9] Greedy by nature, Kalaśa somewhat tarnished his reputation by confiscation of certain religious endowments and also by the establishment of a new revenue department known as *Kalaśagañja*.[10]

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1. *R.T.*, I. vii, 538-39.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 540.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 541.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 548 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 555-59.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 562.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 563-65.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 568-69.
9. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 571-73.
10. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 570; The term *Kalaśagañja* has been discussed in the chapter on *Administration.*

Foreign Expeditions.

The later years of the reign of Kalaśa added greater laurels to his name as these were marked by several conquests over neighbouring kings and unruly elements. Rājapurī was once again threatened by Madanapāla whom Jayānanda had earlier vanquished.[1] Saṅgrāmapāla, the protégé of Kalaśa, again appealed for help and the latter sent his commandant, Bappaṭa, who defeated and captured Madanapāla quite easily and sent him to the Kashmir court.[2] Next came the turn of the turbulent Ḍāmaras who were ever ready to rise in revolt. This time Kalaśa decided to deal with them sternly. At first Kandarpa, the lord of the gate, and afterwards Madana, the commander-in-chief, crushed the Ḍāmara revolt, the latter killing many of their leaders.[3] Some other chiefs were also humbled both by a display of strength and diplomacy through the energetic Kandarpa who thus raised himself in the esteem of Kalaśa and received due cognisance.[4]

Kalaśa next turned his attention towards Lohara whose ruler Bhuvanarāja seems to have fled away at the approach of the royal troops.[5] He also accepted the hand of the daughter of Kīrtirāja, ruler of Nīlapura, and the royal families thus buried their former enmity through this matrimonial alliance.[6]

Taken on the whole, these conquests cannot be treated to denote any appreciable expansion in the territories ruled by Kalaśa; these rather signify that Kalaśa was acutely conscious of the utility of friendly or subservient states all round his own so as to ensure the safety of the valley. Kalaśa was more a pacifist at home and aggressor abroad, but at the same time he proved to be a capable ruler and rid the country of thieves and brigands by appointing capable men to deal with them.[7]

Invasion of Uraśā.

Malla, who had already been raised to the post of the 'lord of the

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 534, 74.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 575.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 576, 79.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 577-78.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 581.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 582.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 580

gate' (*dvārapati*), was soon called upon to curb the rebellious tendencies of Abhayarāja, ruler of Uraśā.[1] There is a veiled suggestion in the account of Kalhaṇa that the intended invasion of Uraśā had a double purpose. In the first place, Abhayarāja was to be punished for his recalcitrance towards the Kashmir throne and secondly, to deprive him of his 'herds of horses' (*vājivraja*), which were to be taken possession of and pressed into the service of the Kashmir king's cavalry forces.[2] Malla, however, found little difficulty in subduing Abhayarāja and depriving him of his fief and the horses with a very small cavalry force at his disposal.[3]

Convention of Neighbouring Rulers.

The political acumen and sagacity of King Kalaśa is manifest from the fact that in 1087-88 A.D., he convened a meeting of neighbouring rulers and potentates at his capital to discuss common problems and forge a united front. Such an assembly was a new and novel experience in the annals of Kashmir and must have been motivated by the common danger of Muslim incursions whose hordes were casting covetous eyes towards the fair and fertile regions of the valley. The following Rājās participated in the assembly[4] :

1. Kīrtirāja of Baddhāpura,
2. Āsaṭa of Champā, (modern Chamb),
3. Kalaśa of Vallāpura,
4. Saṅgrāmapāla of Rājapurī,
5. Utkarsha of Lohara,
6. Saṅgaṭa of Uraśā,
7. Gāmbhīrasīha of Kānda, and
8. Uttamarāja of Kāshṭhavāṭa.

Although Kalhaṇa does not specifically mention the name of the person at whose instance the assembly was convened, yet it was presumably arranged on the invitation of Kalaśa himself. Several reasons for such a convention may be suggested. Instances of kings holding assemblies of friendly rulers are to be found in the pages of Indian history and from the time of Harshavardhana onwards, Kanauj had witnessed many such conventions.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 583-85.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 586.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 587, 588-90.

It is apparent from the list of the names furnished by Kalhaṇa that most of these rulers hailed from the neighbouring tracts. Kīrtirāja, in all probability, was the same king (of Nīlapura) whose daughter was married to Kalaśa, and he could not possibly have been excluded from such a concourse in view of his relationship.[1] The name of Āsaṭa finds mention in the genealogical tables of copper-plates of Chamba, and his historicity is thus corroborated by epigraphic evidence.[2] Another ruler by the name of Kalaśa has been mentioned earlier by Kalhaṇa in the context of the expedition of Ananta to Vallāpura.[3] Saṅgrāmapāla of Rājapurī owed his royal position to Kalaśa (when he was threatened by an internecine war and whose accession and the circumstances leading to it have been detailed earlier).[4] Utkarsha of the list was the second son of Kalaśa and held sway at Lohara and must have been called upon to grace the list of invitees on that pompous occasion.[5] Saṅgaṭa, the ruler of Uraśā is a controversial figure, as the various manuscripts submit variants of this name. One manuscript, as noted by Stein, calls him Muṅgaja, which, however, may be taken to mean that his father's name was Muṅga.[6]

Kalaśa seems to have made elaborate arrangements for the comforts of the congregating rulers and had specially deputed Vāmana, his able minister, to look after them. The meeting had been held during the cold season and every effort was made to establish close and cordial relations with them.[7] The assembly it appears, was a great success. Soon after, Malla resigned his office of the 'lord of the gate' for reasons not specified in the Chronicle.[1] Kalaśa appointed Kandarpa in his place and the latter justified his appointment by capturing the fort of Svāpika, or Māsika, the identity of which cannot be ascertained.[2] Unfortunately, Kandarpa, too, relinquished his office soon after, owing, no doubt, to differences with the king and the intrigues of Praśastakalaśa, who got his brother, Ratnakalaśa, appointed to that very responsible office.[3] Kalaśa was rather disinclined to relieve Kandarda, whose services he valued and Ratnakalaśa, the new incumbent, was but a poor substitute.[4] Later, the king, somehow, persuaded Kandarpa to accept the office of the chief justice in the city (*rājasthānādhikāra*).[5] Kalaśa is also credited with the introduction of two customary traditions (prevalent in other countries) for the first time in the valley, *viz.* those of (1) popularising musical compositions known as *upāṅgagitas* and (2) selecting accomplished female dancers for entertainment at the royal court.[6] It is quite possible that Kalaśa came to patronise music and such 'choral songs' because of the accomplishments of his son, Harsha, in that branch of fine arts; the latter, in the subsequent narrative of Kalhaṇa, is often depicted entertaining his father with music.[7]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 588, (Stein's note); Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 62; Bamzai, P.N.K., *H.K.*, p. 141.

[2] The historicity of Āsaṭa is proved beyond doubt by the finds of three copper plates and a silver coin noted in J.Ph. Vogel's, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, A.S.I., (N.S.) XXXVI, p. 103 ff. and V.A. Smith's, *C.C.I.M.*, I, p. 244 f, 249, pl. XXVI, No. 6; cf. also *I.A.* XVII, p. 7 ff., for a description of the copper plates and coin of Āsaṭadeva.

[3] *R.T.*, I, vii, 220.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 533-35.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 256-67.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 588-90 (Stein's foot-note)

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 592-94.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 596.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 596.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 597-99,

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 599.

[5] The verse in question is important inasmuch as it has been interpreted variously. The word *bhṛityaratna,* occurring in the first part, has been taken by Pandit Ramateja Shastri (Text and Hindi translation of *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, pp. 228-29) as an adjective. Here, however, *bhṛityaratna* is clearly a connotation referring to Kandarpa and not Malla, as inferred by Shastri, as the subsequent verses indicate. Secondly, it (the verse) introduces the office of the *rājasthāna.* That this office was unquestionably connected with the administration of justice has been well established by Stein (*R.T.*, I, vii, 601, Stein's note) and also by the subsequent narrative in which corporal punishment of a severe nature meted out to a thief resulting in his death, vexed Kandarpa so much so that he resigned from that office and repaired towards the sacred river Ganga, seeking, presumably, atonement for the sin accruing out of that barbarous act.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 606.

[7] *Ibid.*, I. vii, 613.

It was a strange irony of fate that Kalaśa had to face trouble and opposition from his son, Harsha, towards the closing years of his reign. Subsequent Indian history affords similar parallels. Aurangzeb had reasons and occasions to be worried because of the conduct of his sons towards him, though he himself had treated his father, Shahjehan, with disrespect and finally imprisoned the latter. The case of Kalaśa offers a similar analogy, though he (Kalaśa) imprisoned his son, Harsha, instead. Kalhaṇa has furnished a detailed account of the relations between the father and the son, culminating in the imprisonment of the latter.[1]

It appears from the detailed account in the Chronicle that Harsha was a man of accomplishments, knew several languages, was no mean a poet and a good musician as well.[2] Unfortunately, he was in the habit of flinging largesse on the meritorious beyond his allowances from his father.[3] Once, while singing, he felt insulted by the king's sudden departure and the courtiers (prominent among whom was Viśśāvaṭṭa) found an opportunity to sow seeds of enmity between the two.[4] Harsha, at first, was genuinely angry with the scheming courtiers and would not hear of their advice to kill Kalaśa and grab the throne.[5] Disappointed by Harsha, the conspirators apprised the king who forthwith issued a severe warning to Harsha and tried to put him in prison.[6] This attempt resulted in a scuffle in which many lives were lost and the relations between the two grew worse every day from 1088 A.D.[7] Then followed a series of attempts on Harsha's life through poisoning and even his wife turned against him.[8]

Last Days of Kalaśa.

Soon after, a change came over in the nature of Kalaśa and he started acting like a tyrant.[9] He began despoiling temples and *vihāras* of their valuable metallic images of gods and goddesses and, casting all considerations of propriety and legality to four winds, he began confiscating possessions of deceased persons without any consideration.[1] At the same time, his licentious habits were taking a heavy toll of his energies and he was soon nearing his end.[2]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 609-79.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 609-10.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 612.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 613ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 627-28.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 635, 641-50.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 675, 677.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 681-87.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 695.

It is admitted by Kalhaṇa that Kalaśa, when his end was near, was, at first, inclined to 'bestow the crown' on Harsha.[3] His proposal, however, did not find favour with the council of his ministers who favoured Utkarsha instead.[4]

Utkarsha, as noted above, was ruling over Lohara and hastened to the capital at the command of the dying king. Although Kalhaṇa does not throw any hint, yet it is plainly obvious that, ever since Harsha's imprisonment, Utkarsha had been secretly wooing the responsible members of the ministerial council and won them over to his side. The ailing monarch still cherished kind thoughts towards Harsha and, sensing that his (Harsha's) life was in jeopardy, wanted to send him away to some distant land with sufficient wealth.[5] But the ministers would not let him do so and, as a further precaution against his escape, stationed Ṭhakkura guards from Lohara who were trusted men of Utkarsha.[6] Thus, Harsha was placed in the hands of the latter and even the dying king could not see him in his last days.

Death of Kalaśa.

Kalaśa, in repentance, sought solace in the temple of Mārtaṇḍa but his end was drawing near.[7] Ultimately, he breathed his last in 1089 A.D., at the not so advanced age of 49, having ruled for about 26 years (1063-89).

Estimate.

The career of Kalaśa presents a striking contrast of darker and

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 696-97.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 698-702.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 703.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 705.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 706-07.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 709ff.

fairer sides of human nature. His early life and career were marked by the shadows cast by the dominating personalities of his parents—Ananta and the domineering queen, Sūryamatī. Unable to have a free hand in the management of the affairs of the state, he took to evil ways, which is not at all surprising under the prevailing conditions in the valley. But once the shadow was cast off, Kalaśa was a man infused with a new vigour and strength of character hitherto lying dormant. His numerous administrative reforms, conquests and the convention of neighbouring rulers with a view to foster unity and amity amongst them, amply demonstrate his abilities. Unfortunately for him, he could not carry on well with his son, Harsha, and this was his only failure on the home-front. Perhaps, the mistrust in his mind was due to the fear of a repetition of what his parents had suffered at his own hands. Yet, it is clear from the account of Kalhaṇa that he had, all along, been aware of the qualities of Harsha and had tried, albeit in a feeble way, to crown him as his successor. That he was unsuccessful in his efforts was indeed a tragedy, and even at the time of his last breath he desired well of him (Harsha). His reign of slightly more than a quarter of a century brought the blessings of peace on his subjects and the valley regained its lost splendour and affluence to a great measure during the reign of his father and his own.

Utkarsha (*c.* 1089 A.D.).

The circumstances under which Utkarsha came to occupy the throne have already been related above. Though he had the backing of the council of ministers behind him, he did not stay long at the helm of affairs partly because of the conditions obtaining in the then political situation of the valley and largely because of his own doings. The result was that he had soon to yield place to Harsha, who had been suffering behind prison-bars and watching the state of affairs, as shall presently be seen.

Early Troubles.

Very soon after being enthroned, Utkarsha had to placate his other step-brothers who were maintaining themselves on the allowances from the state-treasuries. Kalaśa had many sons of whom Vijayamalla and Jayarāja, born of Padmaśrī and Kayyā respectively, deserve special notice.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 731.

Vijayamalla, sensing an opportunity for a raise in his allowances, pressed his claims under threat of opposition. The position of Utkarsha was none too secure and he had to grant Vijayamalla the same amount as was granted to Harsha.[1] Similar commitments in respect of a suitable allowance had to be made to Jayarāja as well with feudatory chieftains and ministers standing sureties of the agreement.[2] It appears from the account of Kalhaṇa that Utkarsha had to make these commitments prior to his entry into the capital and soon after the cremation of his deceased father.[3]

Entry Into the Capital.

Utkarsha did not, by any means, make a colourful entry into the capital and had to bear the shock of a cold reception by his subjects. Verily, he had the support of the ministers behind him, but he had failed to win over the hearts of his subjects. The masses quite naturally were more attracted towards Harsha who had endeared himself to them by his qualities of head and heart. The latter was still remembered by the masses for his munificence and musical accomplishments. Consequently, Utkarsha was crowned without any show of gaiety and rejoicings on the part of his subjects.[4]

Harsha, in the meanwhile, was pining away in the prison and had borne his misfortunes as well as the death of his father rather seriously.[5] As stated earlier, a special guard of Ṭhakkuras from Lohara had been placed over him. But these guardsmen, touched by his manners and bearing, developed sympathy towards him and even went to the extent of promising Harsha the throne of Kashmir.[6] Although Kalhaṇa does not offer any hint of some scheme of liberation and capture of power on the part of Harsha, yet his subsequent narrative and the actions of Harsha do tend to suggest that, assured of the friendship of the Ṭhakkura guards, he was formulating a scheme of liberation from the prison. Firstly, he refused taking meals and insisted to be set free with a promise on his part to remain exiled and not

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 732.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 733.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 734.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 736.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 737-38.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 739.

oppose the king (Utkarsha).[1] Utkarsha, however, proved wily enough to ward off this threat of fast and exile-overture. Seeing that he had been hoodwinked by false promises,[2] Harsha now managed to approach Vijayamalla through a trusted servant appealing to his good sense for help in securing his release.[3] Vijayamalla, though unable to do any thing at the moment, promised help.[4] Strangely enough, Utkarsha did not take effective measures to stabilise his position on the throne and his whole attention was taken up in looking after the royal treasure-chests even at the cost of the urgent affairs of the state.[5]

Revolt of Vijayamalla.

Utkarsha had relegated all his state duties to his ministers, prominently to Kandarpa, and, as noted above, was of a greedy nature. Out of sheer meanness, he stopped the stipulated allowances of Vijayamalla, who was forced to leave the capital. Those who had stood sureties of the settled allowance, were persuaded by him to accompany him.[6] Also, he was able to gather a small force of such merceneries at Lavaṇotsa who were either in the employ of the sureties or sympathised with him.[7] This small band of soldiers impressed upon Vijayamalla to secure the freedom of Harsha from the prison and ward off any danger to Harsha's person.[8] The party, therefore, marched back to the capital to gain success in their scheme, and soon its ranks were swelled by some Ḍāmaras who were ever ready to fish in the troubled waters of a royal feud for their own advantage.[9] Utkarsha was hardly prepared for this and his officers were delayed in their marches against the rebel forces.[10] Meanwhile, Vijayamalla and his group reached the capital, surrounded it and were well-placed for an offensive.[11] At the

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 745.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 747.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 749-50.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 751-52.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 755-56.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 761.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 762.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 763-64.
9. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 765.
10. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 766-69.
11. *Ibid.*

same time, Jayarāja, too, joined hands with the rebels and Vijayamalla was soon in a position to seize royal elephants and cattle-wealth, declaring that the siege would not be lifted till Harsha was set free.[1] Popular feelings, too, were on the side of Harsha and the rebels and the inhabitants raised a cry for the immediate release of Harsha and banishment of Utkarsha.[2]

The revolt of Vijayamalla and the subsequent course of events has been interpreted variously by eminent scholars. Dr. Majumdar, for instance, holds that[6] 'his (Utkarsha's) step-brother revolted and attacked the royal palace. In order to secure the support of Harsha, he released him, but Harsha joined Vijayamalla, captured the throne for himself and took Utkarsha prisoner'.[3] A careful scrutiny of the account furnished by Kalhaṇa would indicate that, actually, it was not so. In the first place, Vijayamalla did not revolt for his own gains or for the throne; secondly, he was, under the peculiar circumstances noted above, made to lead the revolting and displaced groups. Thirdly, Utkarsha did not release Harsha of his own accord; in fact the release of Harsha and his escape from being murdered by the assassins sent by Utkarsha for that purpose was both providential and due to Harsha's presence of mind. Harsha had won over the Ṭhakkura guards who remained neutral and the king's soldiers sent for his assassination were also beguiled by the composed way and favourable reception of them by Harsha, so much so that they felt ashamed of their heinous purpose.[4] Lastly, it may be pointed out that Utkarsha was unable to take a firm decision on the fate of Harsha even though Nonaka had expressly advised him to finish him (Harsha) off.[5] He had instructed his soldiers to take custody of Harsha and ordered them to act according to the code of the ring which they received. Under the instructions of the king one type of ring was to indicate that Harsha had to be released while another type was meant for putting him to death. At last, he decided on the latter course; but, while wavering in a moment of indecision, he dispatched the wrong ring of instruction and Harsha's life was thus spared.[6]

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 770-72.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 773-74.
3. Majumdar, R. C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 99.
4. *R.T.*, I, vii, 775, 787-90.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 782-86.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 801-03, 805 ff.

Vijayamalla justly felt aggrieved and cheated and was ready to go away if his personal safety was granted. It was a sheer chain of circumstances that he found himself suddenly placed at the head of a force resolved to secure Harsha's freedom.

Vijayamalla, in the meantime, thought that Harsha had been done to death and made a severe charge on the king's forces.[1] Further bloodshed was, however, averted when he was assured by the king's forces and missives from Utkarsha that Harsha was alive and unharmed.[2] Realising fully well that the tables were turned, Utkarsha now sent his ministers to release Harsha and the latter was brought forth to him honourably amid cheers of the inhabitants of the city.[3] Utkarsha requested Harsha to placate Vijayamalla and avoid further bloodshed and Harsha forthwith went to the latter.[4] Vijayamalla was overcome with relief and joy to see his elder brother safe and ultimately all hostilities ceased.[5]

Immediately after Harsha ascended the throne, Utkarsha was at once taken into custody by a ruse.[6] There is a suggestion of mistrust on the part of Harsha towards Vijayamalla as well, whose soldiers were taken care of by the new king's followers.[7] Young Utkarsha, barely 24 years of age, finally committed suicide in the prison after being on the throne barely for 22 days; the rightful claimant to the throne was thus finally rewarded with his due.[8]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 810.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 811 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 814-16.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 817.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 819-26.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 832, 843.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 835.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 843-61.

11

HARSHA

(1089-1101 A.D.)

The reign of Harsha is a high watermark in the history of Kashmir for several obvious reasons. In the first place, the account of Kalhaṇa, henceforward, assumes the shape of sober history as he treads on definite historical grounds and the facts narrated by him were within the recall of memory. Secondly, most of these can be corroborated by other indigenous and foreign pieces of evidence. The circumstances in which Harsha came to occupy the throne have already been described above and the suicide by Utkarsha during confinement in the prison had somewhat eased the political tension and nipped factious tendencies at the court. Though the country had been economically strained to its limits due to the misrule of the earlier kings and official extortions, the people as a whole were behind Harsha. The new king exhibited from the very beginning his mettle and soon there was some hope for betterment among the masses. Gifted with political vision, Harsha soon set about in earnest to set the affairs of the state in order.

Harsha was quick enough to realise his own position. He had two courses open for him; firstly, retaliation and victimisation of those who had been responsible for his long sufferings in jail and, secondly, a policy of mercy and appeasement for the ultimate betterment and in the interest of the state. Of the two, he chose the latter, realising fully well that further bloodshed and victimisation would not be in the interest of the realm. Yet, at the same time, he had the prudence to draw those who had been sympathetic towards him still closer to his person—a policy calculated to pay rich dividends.

The Policy of Appeasement.

Though Utkarsha had made an exit from the political scene, Vijayamalla was still there and had gained some popularity amongst the masses as well as the officials for siding with the cause of Harsha. Yet, there was a little uncertainty about the future conduct of the prince in the mind of Harsha.[1] The Ṭhakkura guards from Lohara, whose sympathy and loyalty towards him had been tested and proved in the course of earlier events, were brought to his side, presumably as his own bodyguards. This step served a dual purpose of providing him a band of trusted men as well as rewarding them for the risk they had undertaken. The step also prevented the possibility of any treachery or deceit on the part of Vijayamalla, with whom the Lohara guards were by no means on good terms. Outwardly, the new king was gracious enough to acknowledge publicly that he owed his life and the throne to Vijayamalla, and offered him a seat near him beside the throne,[2] and at the same time, the refractory and inimical elements like Nonaka—to name only the prominent amongst the oppositionists—were placed behind the bars.[3] Thus, having brought about political stability in the valley, he soon embarked upon a policy of administrative reforms so urgently needed to improve the lot of the masses.

The narrative of Kalhaṇa here enters into a critical appraisal of Harsha's character for proper understanding of the course of subsequent events and Harsha's part in them. The poet himself feels that he was treading a difficult ground.[4] It would, however, be preferable to first narrate the course of events during Harsha's regime and then make an attempt to assess his character in the light of both Kalhaṇa's appraisal and his doings at a later stage.

Administrative Reforms.

The first and foremost task of Harsha was to bring the administrative machinery into some semblance of order. During the long drawn-out family feuds, (it had been subjected to partisan strains) the officers, both high and low, took active part in court-intrigues and neglected their duties towards the people. The royal treasury having been depleted because of neglect and acts of misappropriations on the part of those in power, the

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 835-37.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 838-39.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 863-66.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 868ff.

economic conditions were worse than ever. The first act of the new king was to make himself available to the masses without formality and at all hours. He, therefore, hung up bells on the four quarters of his palace, which, when tolled or rung by petitioners and complainants, brought their grievances to his immediate notice for redressal.[1] Secondly, he was strict in maintaining the dignity of the royal court. All persons were required to attend the court and their duties in suitable attire.[2] Visitors, dignitaries and ambassadors from different lands were received with due ceremony and care and their presents accepted in the traditional style.[3] In the early stages, the chief confidant of the king was Vijayamalla in whom he placed considerable trust, both because of his popularity as well as out of gratefulness towards him.[4] It would appear from the Chronicle that the prince also had a following of his own.[5]

Harsha seems to have realised very early that any revengeful victimisation of the officers and ministers of his father's time would not prove beneficial for his administration. Accordingly, when things had gradually quietened down, he reappointed most of them on their former posts and also offered new ones to those who deserved these because of their merits.[6] Thus, Kandarpa was placed in charge of the gate and Madana at the head of the forces as commander-in-chief. Vijayasiṁha and others were confirmed in their former offices. Persons whose fidelity was, however, doubtful were speedily executed, though the king felt a tinge of regret for this afterwards.[7] Praśastakalaśa, however, escaped such a fate and, after release from prison, was restored to his former post.[8] But several other officers, whose conduct had been hostile, were, however, executed with ignominies.[9] The king appointed Sunna as his chief minister and offered an equally responsible post in the council of ministers to his (Sunna's) younger brother. Jayarāja, a younger brother of the king and who enjoyed his trust, was placed at the head of the royal chamberlains. This appointment seems to suggest that the king was not without fear for his personal safety.[1] Another faithful follower of the king, Dhammaṭa, was also suitably recompensed along with his nephews—sons of his two brothers, who had laid down their lives for Harsha earlier.[2]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 879-80.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 881.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 882.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 884ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 885.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 887-888.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 889-90.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 888.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 892.

Rebellion of Vijayamalla.

In spite of his sincere efforts to overhaul the administrative machinery and his pains for efficiency, Harsha was unfortunately not destined to rule the valley peacefully. Vijayamalla, in whom the new king placed his utmost trust, was goaded by a few evil-minded persons to murder Harsha and seize the throne.[3] Tempted by the persuasion of the conspirators, Vijayamalla invited the king to a sacrificial feast with the intention of assassinating him at his residence.[4] But Harsha had come to know of the plot through his spies. The king, alarmed and enraged, ordered his troops to a state of full alertness. Vijayamalla, however, sensing the disclosure of his evil plot, fled away, taking the royal horses after an initial skirmish with the guards.[5] He was hotly pursued by a body of loyal soldiers headed by the sons of Chandaka, who were unable to get at him.[6] During his flight, Vijayamalla proved wily and courageous, for he swam across the flooded Indus at the confluence of the Jhelum along with his wife and steed and crossed into the land of the Darads by way of Lohara.[7] Though Kandarpa had ordered the closure of all passes and strict vigilance was maintained on all routes, Vijayamalla eluded them and reached the court of Vidyādhara Shāhi at Daratpurī.[8] There he was soon joined by a few followers also.[9]

The troubles of Harsha, however, did not end with the flight of Vijayamalla. The prince was soon in secret league with the Ḍāmaras, who were ever ready to fish in troubled waters.[1] This naturally caused some anxiety and alarm to Harsha. According to Kalhaṇa, Vijayamalla tried his best but was unsuccessful.[2] The latter, however, soon invited his doom; he had been assured help from the Ḍāmaras and, on receiving their secret missives, led an expedition against Harsha, but was killed in an avalanche while camping en route.[3] Thus, having spent a few anxious months in fear of revolt and treachery, Harsha was able to regain composure and attend to his affairs peacefully.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 896.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 897-98.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 899, 900.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 901-02.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 903-05.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 908.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 909-11.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 912-13.
[9] *Ibid.*

Liberal Innovations.

Harsha, who was both liberal and broad-minded, ushered in an era which broke through the age-old customs and traditions that had taken roots in the social life of the people of the valley during the preceding millenium of tyrannical monarchical rule. Thus, Kalhaṇa says, that wearing a turban and ear-rings was the sole privilege of the kings and people who dared to infringe this were punished.[5] Henceforth, such customary restrictions were withdrawn and the masses were allowed to wear apparel and ornaments of their taste and choice. He, however, desired the officers of the court to dress themselves befitting their rank. They were also allowed to clothe themselves splendidly with dresses formerly used only by kings.[6] The king seems to have shown special preference for fashions in vogue in Southern India, particularly the Karṇāṭa country. He encouraged the use of handy palm-leaf fans, sandalpaste on forehead and daggers by men-folk. Ladies, too, were similarly encouraged in the use of floral ornaments, collyrium, short body-jackets and the typically long nether garments like a *lahangā*, so commonly used in the South.[7] His preference for South Indian styles is also demonstrated by his introduction of a new type of coins (*taṅkā*) very similar to the Karṇāṭa-coins, as noted by Cunningham.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 914.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 915.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 916ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 919.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 922-24 (Stein's note).

[6] The earlier statement of Kalhaṇa that royal officers on tours were often mistaken for the king himself is relevant in the context of these changes regarding dress, etc. (*Ibid.*, I, vii, 895).

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 926-31.

Harsha was not only a shrewd and capable administrator, but also a patron of learning. His court attracted hosts of musicians, poets and scholars from far and near.[2] They were suitably and handsomely rewarded and honoured for their learning by conferment of ranks and through favours such as the use of palanquins, parasols and even mounts.[3] Kalhaṇa makes pointed reference to the celebrated Kashmiri scholar, Bilhaṇa, who had left Kashmir during the reign of Kalaśa and found favour at the court of the Chālukyan monarch, Vikramāditya VI, of Kalyāṇī. That the merits of Bilhaṇa and his works were subsequently recognised in the valley is obviously hinted by Kalhaṇa.[4] No wonder Bilhaṇa, in the words of Kalhaṇa, felt himself 'cheated' even with high honours at the Kalyāṇī court and cherished secretly a desire to return to the land of his birth.[5] It would thus appear that Kalhaṇa's account here is based on strict historical accounts, as the synchronism between Vikramāditya VI (*c.* 1076-1126 A.D.) and the Kashmir rulers, Kalaśa (*c.* 1063-1089 A.D.) and Harsha (*c.* 1089-1101 A.D) is well-established by both literary and epigraphic evidence. Harsha himself was a composer of no ordinary merits and his patronage of scholars, poets and writers was nothing extraordinary.[6]

The Royal Court and Its Splendour.

It would thus appear that, from the very beginning, Harsha took adequate measures to raise and maintain the dignity and splendour of the royal court. He had instilled a sense of discipline amongst his officers, emphasised and impressed upon them the value of proper court-dresses and due attention towards their duties. It has already been noted that he set a personal example of attending to regal duties following a rigid time-table in his daily work. He occupied himself in the routine business during the first half of the day and rested for two hours in the afternoon.[1] Generally, the festive assemblies were held till late in the nights in the assembly hall which was suitably illumined for the purpose.[2] There the king spent a few hours listening to the discourses of learned men and attending dances and musical performances.[3] Kalhaṇa has described the grandeur of Harsha's 'nightly courts', where intelligence, beauty and affluence found scope for display.[4] Fortunately, during the early years of Harsha's reign, the country did not have any visitations of famine and the people in general were affluent, as is indicated by their monetary transactions in gold and silver.[5] The king himself extended his munificence and patronage to Brāhmaṇas and charitable endowments and so did his chief queen, Vasantalekhā. The officers, too, followed in the footsteps of the royal couple.[6]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 926; Cunningham, A., *C. M. I.*, p. 34.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 933 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 934.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 935-37.

[5] The word *Vañchanā* used by Kalhaṇa in I, vii, 937 has been taken to mean 'deception' by Stein. But 'cheated' would be more appropriate here (M. Monier Williams, *S.E.D.*, p. 914, col. 2).

[6] *R. T.*, I, vii, 941-42.

Yet, the new king was not infallible. He was prone to listen to new ministers who often poisoned his ears against his former advisers.[7] He also maintained a harem of 360 ladies drawn from all castes except the Ḍomba and Chaṇḍāla.[8] The frugal Kalaśa had amassed immense riches and Harsha utilised the same without any thought of the future.[9] Thus Kalhaṇa, while extolling the many virtues of the new king, also takes notice of expression of the latter's failings and weaknesses as well.

Uprising of Bhuvanarāja.

Trouble, however, soon loomed large on the horizon of the valley. Bhuvanarāja, son of Kshitirāja and once a pretender to the throne of Lohara during the regime of Ananta, once again conspired with the foot-soldiers garrisoned at Lohara, with a view to seize it.[10] Having gained the sympathies and support of the foot-soldiers, he once again tested his fortune and advanced towards Darpitapura, a place which has not been identified so far.[1] Harsha promptly dispatched Kandarpa, a man of proven ability and valour, to meet him. Bhuvanarāja was routed and he was again on the run.[2] Kandarpa was able to restore order very soon and, it may reasonably be inferred that he punished the guilty leaders of the foot-soldiers stationed there.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 943.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 944.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 946-49.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 950; Cunningham, A., *C. M. I.*, pp. 34, 36 ff.
[6] *R.T.*, I, vii, 951 ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 958 ff.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 963-64.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 961-62.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 965.

Revolt of Saṅgrāmapāla.

Rājapurī, very probably a vassalage of Kashmir, was ruled by Saṅgrāmapāla. For reasons not disclosed in the Chronicle, the latter chose to rise in rebellion against Harsha.[4] Since Kandarpa was away dealing with Bhuvanarāja, the king sent Sunna, his 'prefect of the police' with a large force to deal with Saṅgrāmapāla.[5] Sunna lacked the ability of Kandarpa as a general and took things easy on his march, delaying for more than a month at Lohara in order to avoid the intense heat of the season.[6] This delay proved a boon to Saṅgrāmapāla, who was able to muster a large force and plenish his resources for the impending encounter. Harsha grew impatient and sent out a strongly worded message to Kandarpa, whom the king thought to have been inactive on his front.[7] Kandarpa vowed not to take meals till he had conquered Rājapurī.[8] With lightening marches, insufficient supplies and a handful of soldiers, he covered the difficult terrain in 6 days and was knocking at the gates of Rājapurī.[9] Though Sunna was near at hand, he seems to have lost courage along with his men and only Kularāja of his troops joined Kandarpa in the attack.[10] Kandarpa soon stormed the city which was taken after considerable bloodshed, but Kularāja was slain in the encounter.[11] Terrible punishment was meted out to the forces of Saṅgrāmapāla and hundreds were slain.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 966.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 968.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 967.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 968-69.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 969-70.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 971.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 972.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 972-73.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 975.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 976.

The rebels, however, rallied their forces for a last effort in the evening, but Kandarpa proved too strong for them.[2] The rebel forces were soon scattered and Rājapurī finally fell to him.[3] Sunna, who was close by, and had not taken any active part in the encounter, ultimately joined him and the poet has a few harsh words for him for his cowardly behaviour.[4] It may be concluded that Kandarpa must have exacted heavy tributes and indemnities from Saṅgrāmapāla, for the latter had amassed great wealth.[5] On his triumphal return to the capital, the king accorded him a royal welcome by going out in person to receive him, which, however, caused sufficient heart-burning amongst many of his courtiers who were jealous of Kandarpa.[6]

Plot against Kandarpa and His Fall.

The brilliant success of Kandarpa in the two military expeditions was not relished by some ministers, councillors and officials close to Harsha. Very soon, forces inimical to Kandarpa were bribed to champion the cause of Ānanda who, as administrative head of religious endowments at Parihāsapura, aspired for appointment to the office of the 'lord of the gate'.[7] These conspirators were soon provided with an opportunity to keep Kandarpa away from the court and the king. Lohara had again risen in revolt and the king was persuaded to dispatch Kandarpa to quell the rebellion. He was also given the governorship of that fief.[8] In defence of the king, it may be said that he could not see through the plot of his councillors and failed to rise to the occasion—much to his own misfortune.[9]

Kandarpa was soon able to restore order at Lohara, but, as he remained away from the court and time passed by, the king grew lukewarm in his appreciation of the former's merits.[1] The conspirators also got an opportunity to instigate the king against him. He had taken along with him a son of Utkarsha, and this was interpreted by the conspiring councillors to indicate that Kandarpa wanted to station the prince as the governor of Lohara.[2] The king, in whose mind the seeds of suspicion had already been sown, concurred with them and forthwith sent a body of soldiers headed by Paṭṭa and Asidhara to kill the prince.[3] Kandarpa, by an act of sheer providence, came to know of the whole plot and naturally felt aggrieved.[4] Though Harsha had been unjust to him, yet, he offered to retire on pilgrimage if his family and relations were allowed to join him.[5] This condition was fulfilled and he gave up his post and proceeded to Varanasi.[6] Even when on a pilgrimage to Varanasi, Gaya and other eastern regions, he performed certain acts of heroism which brought concessions to visitors from Kashmir to the holy *tīrtha* of Gaya.[7]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 977 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 982 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 984 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 987-90.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 990-91.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 992.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 993-95.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 996.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 997-98.

Harsha, however, was not destined to rule in peace after the departure of Kandarpa. Dhammaṭa, a son of Tanvaṅga, soon started plotting against him for the throne.[8] He won over Jayarāja, the offspring of a courtesan, in his wicked scheme. Dhammaṭa had planned to have the king murdered by the latter and then pave the way for his accession to the throne.[9] Jayarāja enlisted a few assassins and a few ladies of the harem for the execution of the plot.[10] In the meantime, Harsha appointed Dhammaṭa as an envoy to Rājapurī and both Dhammaṭa and Jayarāja were frustrated in their machinations.[11] Harsha, however, came to know of their plot through Prayāga, who had heard the two conspirators talking about the plot through his servant and cancelled Dhammaṭa's appointment to

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 999.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1000.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1001.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1002-05.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1006.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1007.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1008-10.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1013.
9. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1014-15.
10. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1016.
11. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1017.

Rājapurī.[1] Thereafter, through a ruse and diplomacy, the king was able to get them executed within a short time and the trouble passed over.[2] Two grandsons of Tanvaṅga (Dhammaṭa's sons), Ralhaṇa and Salhaṇa, were spared at the king's own intervention.[3] Bitter fate, however, awaited the rest. Four other grandsons of Tanvaṅga, Tulla, Bulla, Gulla and Jayarāja were executed in the prime of their youth and similar treatment was meted out to Ḍomba, the elder son of Vikarsha, as well as Jayamalla, son of Vijayamalla.[4] Since Ḍomba had been brought up by the king himself, his execution seems to have been due to his association with some previous plot on the part of these persons. Ray, too, thinks that these executions took place because of some conspiracy in which members of the royal household and relatives were seriously involved.[5] As Kalhaṇa does not specifically mention any such scheme of uprising on the part of all those executed, the act may be presumed to have been a part of the policy of Harsha to remove all such elements from whom he could have cause or reason to expect trouble.

Kalhaṇa has condemned this attitude of Harsha towards his kin in no uncertain words and has further recounted the ascendancy of cunning and scheming advisers in his court.[6] In this context, a passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* has been interpreted by Stein to suggest that building of stone bridges over greater rivers was unknown in Kashmir during Hindu times.[7] It is, however, difficult to agree with his above statement for certain obvious reasons. The passage in question, as translated by that worthy scholar himself is quite suggestive to the contrary and says : 'Let the villages, the gold, and other (property) bestowed upon the (temple of Śiva) *Kalaśeśvara* be taken away. With the stones of that temple I shall build you a bridge over the *Vitastā*.'[8] It may well be asked here: How could Loshṭadhara build a bridge over the Vitastā if the practice of building stone bridges over great rivers was unknown to Hindus in Kashmir? Loshṭadhara here

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 1018-20.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1022-52.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1053.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1054-69.
5. Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 64.
6. *R.T.*, I, vii, 1070, 1072-76.
7. *Ibid* , I, vii, 1077-78 (See Stein's note).
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1077.

clearly meant that the dressed stones from the building of the temple would provide enough stones for a big-sized bridge over the Vitastā and the project would not involve a great expenditure. However, this aspect of public works has been dealt with elsewhere in detail.

Exactions of Harsha.

Harsha's nature seems to have undergone considerable change during the subsequent years. His greed for amassing wealth knew no bounds and he soon started plundering the riches of the temples all over his territories including that of Bhīmakeśava[1]. However, he made certain concessions in respect of Mārtāṇḍa images, the Raṇasvāmī image in the capital, and two colossal Buddha images.[2]

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 1080-86, 1090.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1096-98.

Such spoliation of temples, defilement of images and usurpation of their wealth was taken by Stein to be the result of the influence of Islam. He lends support to his view by the appellation *Turushka* applied to Harsha by Kalhaṇa (*Ibid.*, I, vii, 1095; Stein's note). Dr. Basham, on the other hand, suggested the growing influence of Ājīvikism at his court to be the cause of his actions (Basham, A.L., *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XII, pp. 688 ff.). According to him, the *Nagnātas* (verse 1092) or *Nagnāṭakas* (verse 1095) could very well have been Ājīvikas who lived naked and followed certain obnoxious practices (*Ibid.*). Both views, however, appear to be erroneous. Harsha was designated a *Turushka* by Kalhaṇa for his usurpation of temple-wealth and for employing Turushka soldiers in his army. Besides, Kalhaṇa has described Harsha's liking for pork, which no Muslim would even dare touch (*R.T.*, I, vii, 1149; Stein's note). As such, Harsha could hardly have been influenced by Islam. Dr. Basham equates the *Nagnāṭas* or *Nagnātakas* with Ājīvikas on the ground that Harsha was not only enamoured of Karṇāṭa beauty but also copied Karṇāṭa coin-types, on which there is a total absence of any deity-figure. (Basham. A.L., *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 688 ff.). But the *Nagnāṭas* referred to by Kalhaṇa were 'naked mendicants whose noses, feet and hands had rotted away' (*R.T.*, I, vii, 1092, Stein's trs., 1095). It is not known that such practices were being followed by the Ājīvikas during the period under review in Karṇāṭa where Vikramāditya VI, a devout Hindu, was ruling. As such, it is not possible to accept either of the two suggestions. Besides, Kalhaṇa would certainly have given more information about Harsha's change of religion, had he done so.

Not content with the appropriation of temple-wealth and treasures, Harsha made himself unpopular by the levy of fresh taxes on householders.[1] A new class of revenue officers known as *arthanāyakas* (prefects of property) came into being and were graded as *nāyakas*, *arthanāyakas* and *mahattama-arthanāyakas*.[2] Even ministers—once respected for their integrity and men from the Purohita—corporations, were lured to these posts, and money was to be raised from all possible sources including levy on night-soil.[3]

These ill-gotten gains were spent in frivolous and foolish ways by the king.[4] He showered wealth and presents on the unworthy who played upon his credulity.[5] At about this time, he is also said to have fallen in love with a picture of one of the queens of the Chālukya monarch, Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) alias Permāṇḍi (Permadi), named Chandalā.[6] Curiously enough, the Chālukyan king had a queen by the name of Chandralekhā, a princess of the Śilāhāra family. Very probably, Chandralekhā was the daughter of the Śilāhara Mārasiṁha, a feudatory ruler of the regions roughly corresponding to the modern districts of Satara and Kolhapur with his capital at Karṇāṭaka, modern Karad.[7] Chandralekhā is named Chandalādevī in Chālukyan inscriptions which name is 'also occasionally used by Bilhaṇa'.[8] If Chandalā be the shortened Prākritised form of that name (Chandralekhā), then Kalhaṇa may be credited with considerable historical accuracy in his account.

The licentious king had crossed all limits of decorum and was guilty of the worst incests.[9] The royal harem soon turned into a place of intrigues, and plots for his own murder were also hatched by irresponsible male and female members of the household. Fortunately, Harsha came to know of them and the guilty were executed forthwith.[10]

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 1100-01.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1102-07.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1107.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1115 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1116-18, 1128-33.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1119-27.
7. Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 174, 176.
8. Yazdani, G., *E.H.D.*, Vol. I, p. 368.
9. *R.T.*, I, vii, 1147-48.
10. *Ibid.*, I, vii 1143-44.

Second Expedition against Saṅgrāmapāla.

Saṅgrāmapāla, who had earlier been humiliated by Kandarpa,[1] had perhaps not forgotten his discomfiture and, quite naturally, nursed a secret grievance against the king. He was also quite alive to the chaotic conditions prevailing in the valley. It is possible that he was biding his time for revenge and Harsha came to know of his designs, though Kalhaṇa is not explicit on this point.[2] Harsha was fully aware of the wealth and military strength of Saṅgrāmapāla.[3] Accordingly, he marched forth with a very large army[4] to punish Saṅgrāmapāla.

This expedition, however, proved a miserable failure and very well depicts the inexperience of Harsha in matters of warfare and the deceitfulness of his officers particularly his prefect of the police (*daṇḍanāyaka*), Sunna. Harsha started on his mission with a large force, arrived at Pṛithvīgiri, a fort in the precincts of Rājapurī, and soon laid a siege.[5] The siege proved to be a protracted one and continued for about a month. The inmates of the fort gradually ran short of supplies and, in order to save their lives, Saṅgrāmapāla offered a handsome amount of money as tax and tribute.[6] Harsha, however, insisted on harsher terms and remained adamant. But Saṅgrāmapāla proved a cleverer strategist. He bribed Sunna and the latter instigated the army of Harsha to ask for larger marching allowances.[7] Harsha had hardly expected this and, since he did not have sufficient funds at the moment with him, he set about arranging for the same.[8] But the soldiers had gone on a solemn fast and wanted their demands to be met forthwith.[9] While Harsha was busy arranging for the requisite sum, Sunna spread another rumour—a more potent one this time—that an attack from the Turushkas was imminent.[10] This naturally unnerved Harsha and he promptly raised the siege and hastened back to his own capital leaving considerable treasures and stores behind.[1] This failure rankled in his mind and he wanted to recall Kandarpa but was prevented by Sunna from doing so.[2] The king soon came to know of the treacherous role of his prefect of the police and cast him into the prison.[3] But later he not only released Sunna but also reinstated him on his former post.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 967-992.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1150.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 991, 1154.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1151.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1150-52.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1154.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1155-56.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1157-58.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1157.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1158.

The Dugdhaghāta Expedition.

Harsha had lowered his prestige considerably in the eyes of his subjects as a military leader because of the utter failure of his expedition against Rājapuri at the fort of Prithvīgiri. The subsequent attack on Dugdhaghāta, a stronghold of the Darads, was more in the nature of an attempt to salvage his reputation.[5] That he was prompted by his adviser, Sahela, into such an enterprise is hardly the reason.[6] Dugdhaghāta had been under the charge of Lakkanachandra, a Ḍāmara chief, during the reign of Ananta and the former had been executed for some misdemeanour on the orders of that king.[7] Lakkanachandra's wife wanted King Kalaśa, Ananta's successor to take possession of it, but the king refused to have any thing to do with it. The fort, along with a number of villages adjoining it, had thereupon been seized by the Darads and Harsha felt himself justified in taking possession of it again.[8] The stronghold, though well fortified, lacked water resources and the expedition, on Sahela's advice, was planned at a time when water supplies were at the lowest.[9] The king ordered Chaṇpaka to proceed with the forces and capture the fort. Chaṇpaka soon managed to cross the river Madhumatī and besiege the fort.[10] The king ordered his feudatories to join in the siege and himself followed one march behind, no doubt, from a tactical point of view.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1159.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1163-64.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1165.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1167.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1171 ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii 1170.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1172-73.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1174.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1175-76.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1179.

The inmates of the fort, though short of water and overwhelmed from all sides, however, offered stout resistance.[2] The royal forces, too, exhibited equal determination and many acts of individual valour and recklessness were witnessed on both sides. The heroism of Malla and his sons Uchchala and Sussala, on the king's side, were worth mentioning.[3] Providence, however, came to the rescue of the beleaguered Darads (who were holding out in the fort with great difficulty) in the form of heavy rains. The ground became slippery and assault on the fort became impossible as it was perched on a high hillock.[4] Heavy snowfall followed the rains. The officers and soldiers could not stand the rigours of the inclement weather and soon there was complete confusion in the rank and file of the royal troops.[5] Very probably, the king's forces were in the open and whatever shelter they had rigged up for themselves was destroyed by the snow-storms. Harsha was again persuaded by his advisers to return home.[6] This hasty retreat of the king was the beginning of a complete chaos and the soldiers as well as the officers exhibited utter disorganisation, leaving behind their supplies, royal treasures, and earthly belongings including even arms.[7] The Darads, on the other hand, took full advantage of this and killed many of the royal soldiers in their flight. The royal forces also suffered because of the floods in the Madhumatī river flowing close by.[1] Only Uchchala and Sussala showed courage and saved the retreating army from complete annihilation by offering stand against the Darad forces that followed the fleeing soldiers.[2] The expedition to Dugdhaghāta thus ended in a complete failure, though Uchchala and Sussala enhanced their prestige considerably both in the eyes of the people and the forces because of their courage and resoluteness.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1180.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1181.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1182-85.

Though there was water-shortage, the Darads gave tough fight to the Kashmiri troops, when they tried to scale the hill on which the fort was situated. Without losing patience, they dropped heavy stone-boulders on the king's troops and thus stopped their advance. Mallarāja, Guṅga's son, led fierce attacks on the Darads but to no purpose. His two sons, Uchchala and Sussala, shone in bravery at the Prājimaṭhikā-front and the latter played a great role in the contemporary politics of Kashmir which will be dealt later. Prājimaṭhikā corresponds with modern Vijje-marg (*ibid.*, I, vii, 1171, see also Stein's note).

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1186-88.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1189.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1190.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1191.

Execution of Madana.

Though Harsha had been discomfited in his two military adventures, he was extremely averse to any criticism of the same. Madana, the chief of the forces, was, however, too outspoken and incurred the wrath of the king.[4] Some ministers tried to pacify the king, but Madana and his son were executed on trumped-up charges and the king, through his own ill-judgement, lost an able general and a conscientious officer.[5]

The two military reverses, in quick succession of each other, had demoralising effect upon the entire administrative machinery. Murders and robberies increased manifold and there was no security of life in the valley.[6] Nature, too, seemed to have added to the miseries of the masses. A great plague took heavy toll of human lives while floods devastated large areas under cultivation in villages.[7] A great famine raged over the whole country and edibles as well as things of every day use became scarce.[8] Prices soared high and these natural calamities also took many human lives.[9] Yet, instead of relief, the people were burdened with heavy taxes levied on the advice of, and exacted through, the unpopular Kāyastha officials.[10]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1192-94.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1196-97ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1198, 1202.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1205-06.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1207--08.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1116-17.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1218-19.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1220-21.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1222.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1226.

Suppression of the Ḍāmaras.

Harsha, at this stage, seems to have been nursing some grievances against the Ḍāmaras, who in all likelihood, had protested against the heavy exactions imposed upon the people including themselves. The Ḍāmaras were a warlike class and had become powerful during the effete rule of the king.[1] Governor Ānanda was ordered by the king to exterminate them. Ānanda thought it wise to deal with the Ḍāmara chiefs one by one. His first victims were the Ḍāmaras of Holaḍā (Vular) who were wiped out completely and the Lavanyas, too, met a similar fate.[2] Besides the Ḍāmaras, Brāhmaṇas and even travellers were also meted out similar treatment in the territory of Maḍavarājya and the adjoining areas.[3] The terrified Lavanyas ran away from their homes and sought shelter in all directions; many, crossing over to the adjoining Islamic territories, probably embraced Islam and took to beef-eating while some remained in Maḍavarājya and took to menial occupations of working at water-wheels, hand-mills, etc.[4] The brutal annihilation and extermination of the Ḍāmaras continued even in the territories of Kramarājya, where, however, the doughty Ḍāmaras, though small in number, formed themselves into an army and offered stiff resistance to the royal forces before laying down their lives.[5] Though for a time the Ḍāmaras were thus crushed and defeated, yet they were able to muster sufficient strength during the days of Sussala to prove their mettle.[6]

Days of Intrigues.

It can easily be inferred from the above narrative that Harsha's power and prestige were on the wane. He had taken no steps to improve the condition of his starving subjects during the famine and pestilence and had, on the other hand, insisted on strict revenue exactions through his unpopular Kāyastha officials. Politically, Sussala and Uchchala were gaining prominence and popularity both in the army and the masses because of their heroic stands during the misadventure of Harsha at Dugdhaghāta

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 1227.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1228-29.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1228-29.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1231-32.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1240-42.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1264.

detailed above.[1] The king was naturally jealous of the two and was further instigated by his minister, Lakshmīdhara, to kill both of them.[2] Lakshmīdhara nursed a grievance against Sussala, who, however, was not without blemishes of character and was suspected by the former of an affair with his young wife.[3] Harsha wavered at first but later fell in with the scheme.[4] The plot, however, was soon reported to the two brothers and, having been convinced by friends of the king's evil designs, they thought it prudent to leave the capital secretly in A.D. 1100.[5] They proceeded to Uraśā, then under a Ḍāmara chief Praśastarāja who, however, 'conducted them abroad' despite his brother's opposition.[6] Fearing capture together, the two brothers took to separate destinations, Uchchala proceeding to Rājapurī and Sussala to Kāliñjara, a place which cannot be identified.[7]

Uchchala did not have any respite even at Rājapurī. The king was now thoroughly alarmed and started scheming with Saṅgrāmapāla, the ruler of Rājapurī, through the minister Lakshmīdhara to assassinate him[8]. Circumstances, however, were in his favour; the people of Rājapurī had always been on inimical terms with the rulers of Kashmir.[9] Uchchala showed considerable enterprise and soon entered into a league with the disgruntled Ḍāmaras through secret messengers.[10] The Ḍāmaras, too, responded favourably by offering him presents and promising help if he returned to Kashmir.[11] Saṅgrāmapāla was also half convinced of their support to Uchchala and was inclined to help the latter, though he was not easy in his mind about the future course of events.[12] While still wavering, Saṅgrāmapāla was induced by Kalaśarāja, a Ṭhakkura chief and his minister, not to support Uchchala, but to imprison him at Rājapurī and thus gain the favour of Harsha.[1] Saṅgrāmapāla decided on this course of treachery but was unable to carry it out himself.[2] Soon a meeting between Uchchala and Kalaśarāja was arranged for imprisoning the former, but Uchchala somehow came to know of the plot and what followed next speaks volumes about his courage and fearlessness.[3] Kalaśarāja tried to capture Uchchala by a show of force but the latter was ready for it. Ultimately, Saṅgrāmapāla intervened and a meeting was arranged between them in the assembly hall of the Khaśas.[4] The fearless Uchchala was allowed to leave the country along with his followers.[5] He prepared to leave Rājapurī and was joined by a few doughty Ḍāmaras who had taken to other lowly occupations after laying down their arms.[6] But he was not destined to leave in peace; Kalaśarāja, who had been bribed by Harsha, had designs on his life. He set his men on him and many of Uchchala's followers were killed, though he was spared at the intervention of the prominent people of Rājapurī.[7]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1171, 1186ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1247-49.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1246-47.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1250-52.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1252-54.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1254-55.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 125.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1257-58.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1261.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1262.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1263.
[12] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1265-67.

Uchchala now set about the task of raising a revolt against Harsha and capturing the throne for himself. His strategy was to send his trusted men through different routes to different parts of the country and raise a revolt against the monarch while he himself planned to attack the valley through Kramarājya.[8] Since Kramarājya was a stronghold of the Ḍāmaras, he was hopeful of support from them in his enterprise.

Invasion of Uchchala.

Uchchala, as already noted above, was a man endowed with considerable military skill. He was, however, fully aware of his limitations and, therefore, planned to begin his campaign against Harsha by subduing all such pockets on the way which could prove sources of trouble in the rear. He, therefore, first captured Lohara which was under the charge of Kapila and his men.[9] Thenceforth he proceeded towards Srinagar and was soon joined by other Ḍāmaras and Khaśas from the hilly regions.[1] Harsha was by now very much alarmed and became anxious for the safety of Kramarājya under the governorship of Ānanda, as the defeat of the latter would have provided a firm footing to Uchchala and his rebellious forces.[2] Since Sunna, the prefect of the police-forces, was slow in collecting troops, Harsha ordered Paṭṭa to challenge the rebels with a strong force.[3] But Paṭṭa seems to have wavered in attacking the forces of Uchchala in the beginning and thus lost an opportunity of crushing the rebellion.[4] Arrival of further detachments under Sunna too, did not change the situation and Uchchala continued to strengthen his position.[5] Uchchala now marched forth to Varāhamūla but his further advance was checked by the Kākas.[6] Consequently, he had to leave Hushkapura and march towards Kramarājya, where he expected help from the Ḍāmaras.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1267-70.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1271-72.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1275ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1278ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1281-90.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1292.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1267, 1294-96.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1297-98.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1299-1300.

Meanwhile, the Ḍāmaras had already been up in arms and had defeated the forces of Ānanda, the governor of Kramarājya, who had lost control of the situation after suffering heavy losses.[7] He was compelled to retire to Tāramūlaka where the Ḍāmaras, now joined by Uchchala, followed in his wake.[8] Despite severe attacks of the rebels led by Uchchala, the governor of Kramarājya had been holding his position with difficulty, and further uprisings elsewhere now spelled greater threat to Harsha.[9] Ānanda, a maternal uncle of Uchchala, seized the opportunity and raised a revolt in Maḍavarājya with the help of the Ḍāmaras who gathered from all directions in support of Uchchala. Sahela, the commander-in-chief of the royal forces, and in charge of the defence of Maḍavarājya, however, rendered futile several attempts of Ānanda and the Ḍāmaras.[10]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1301-02.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1303-04.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1305.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1306.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1307-08.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1311.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1312-1313.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1314.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1315-16.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1317-20.
This Ānanda should not be confused with his namesake referred to above who was the governor (*ibid.*, I, vii, 1323 ff).

Uchchala, in the meanwhile, had compelled the governor Ānanda to surrender, but the latter proved wily enough to incite Uchchala's forces to indulge in arson and loot with a view to bring discredit upon him.[1] Then he led Uchchala into the town of Parihāsapura, tried to set his camp on fire and, failing in his attempt, sent word secretly to Harsha to come and capture Uchchala and his men while they were sailing under the misconception of safety.[2] Harsha forthwith marched with a large army, attacked the rebel forces, which were hardly prepared for it, and soon routed them at Bharatasetu.[3] Ānanda (the governor) himself joined in the fray, causing considerable loss to the troops of Uchchala.[4] The rebel forces were soon scattered and many of the Ḍāmaras sought safety in flight while some sheltered themselves in Rājavihāra which was burnt down by the royal troops.[5] Uchchala was persuaded by many of his associates to give up resistance and retire to Tāramūlaka in temporary eclipse along with many of his trusted Ḍāmaras.[6] Harsha, however, did not pursue Uchchala and follow up his victory—a tactical blunder which proved costly for him later on.[7] Uchchala, on the other hand, did not lose heart and soon started collecting forces for another show-down.[8]

Rebellion of Sussala.

While Uchchala was busy collecting forces for another attempt, Sussala, his younger brother, was also on the march towards Śūrapura.[9] While he was halting at Avanāha, he received a message of admonition from his father for his sluggishness and apathy towards his elder brother, whom the aged parents held in high regard.[10] Deeply touched, he waited for some time for some horses from King Kalha, and then soon fell upon Māṇikya, the commandant of the watch-station of Śūrapura, defeated him and gained considerable booty.[1] This new development thoroughly alarmed Harsha who promptly dispatched a large force against Sussala.[2] But Sussala easily defeated the royal troops, many of whom perished in the river Vaiṭaranī while fleeing and the rest took shelter with Sahela at Lokapuṇya. Sahela, too, felt himself insecure against an attack of Sussala and, therefore, retired to the city.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1321-25.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1326-30.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1331-33.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1334.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1335-36.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1337-39.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1340-41.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1342-43.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1348.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1349.

The uprising of Sussala relieved the pressure on Uchchala at Tāramūlaka and he was not slow to avail of the opportunity.[4] Helped by the Ḍāmara foot-soldiers, he marched down against the governor of Lohara.[5] In the meanwhile, Ānanda (maternal uncle of Uchchala and Sussala), marched down to Padmapura, thus posing another potent threat to Harsha.[6] The predicament of the king can be readily visualised as he was facing a three-pronged attack from Uchchala, Sussala and Ānanda and was being slowly and steadily encircled and squeezed into his own capital. At the same time, his officers and commanders exhibited extreme cowardice and none was prepared to take command of the army.[7] At last Chandrarāja, a descendant of Jindurāja, offered himself for that post and set out to oppose Ānanda.[8] He drove back the forces of Ānanda from Padmapura and even succeeded in killing him.[9]

In the meantime Chandrarāja proceeded towards Vijayakshetra along with a large body of the royal troops. Ānanda, the governor of Kramarājya, was forced to retire within Lohara owing to unprecedented rains.[10] He was soon surrounded by the rebel forces and was done to death by the Ḍāmaras, led by Janakachandra, though Uchchala wanted him to be spared.[11] Soon after this victory, Uchchala reached Hiraṇyapura and, after being accorded a royal reception, was even consecrated by the local Brāhmaṇas.[1] This was a great set-back for Harsha and his supporters. His ministers advised him to leave the capital and retire to the mountainous regions of Lohara and bid his time there.[2] Harsha was not amenable to leave behind his seraglio and the treasures or vacate the throne.[3] At last the ministers persuaded him to send his son Bhoja to Lohara, but the fickle-minded king recalled him to his side on the advice of his prefect of the police.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1350-53.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1354.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1355-58.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1359.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1360-61.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1362.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1363-64.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1365-68.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1373.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1375.

Demoralisation and Dissatisfaction amongst Harsha's Followers.

It is easy to comprehend that the king commanded very little loyalty, more specially when even the ministers had lost heart. The Tantrin troops which had hitherto stood by the king, now started demanding marching allowances even when not in action and the rank and file of royal attendants started deserting him.[5] Faced by dissension and desertion on all sides, Harsha's wrath fell upon the kinsmen of Uchchala and Sussala—an act of sheer revengeful hatred.[6]

Malla Assassinated.

Harsha's first victim was Vyaḍḍamaṅgala, a close relation of Malla.[7] Instigated by the Shāhi princesses of his seraglio, he turned his attention towards Malla, who was leading a retired life.[8] His sons had entreated with him to leave the king and join them, but he had refused to do so.[9] However, when attacked by a posse of the royal soldiers led by the king himself, he did not give up life without a fight and was killed along with a few trusted and faithful men in a short and swift action.[10] The females of his apartment consigned themselves to a funeral pyre and so did Nandā, mother of Uchchala and Sussala, though she had been separated from others some time before.[1] Other relatives, too, were hunted out and only a few had providential escapes from the wrathful vengeance of the king.[2]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1385.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1386-87.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1388.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1452.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1457 ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1467 ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1467.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1469 ff.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1472.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1471-84.

Capture of Vijayeśvara by Sussala.

The news of the brutal killing of his father soon reached Sussala and Uchchala, who were naturally enraged.[3] Sussala forthwith led an attack on Vijayeśvara (or Vijayakshetra) which was defended by the king's most powerful supporter, Chandrarāja. The latter was holding together remnants of the royal troops, with no little difficulty and this attack by Sussala led to further desertions in his ranks.[4] Chandrarāja, undaunted, marched out to meet the rebel forces but was overwhelmed and killed in the ensuing encounter along with his loyal followers.[5]

But Sussala cherished the dream of seizing the throne for himself.[6] Accordingly, he advanced rapidly towards the capital and made short work of all opposition at several places. He was soon in the precincts of the royal palace itself.[7] At this critical hour, Bhojadeva, a son of Kalaśa, accompanied by a few loyal men, took the field for Harsha against Sussala.[8] Bhojadeva not only beat back Sussala but also forced him to retire to Lavaṇotsa for the second time.[9]

Uchchala Captures Srinagar.

Meanwhile, Uchchala, too, was speeding towards the capital with his force.[10] Sunna, the prefect of the police, was secretly in league with him and had sent him word that if he did not hurry up, his younger brother

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1486-91,
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1495.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1497.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1499.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1500-03.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1522.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1524.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1525-34.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1537.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1539.

(Sussala) might seize the throne for himself.[1] Hardly had the sweat of the previous encounter dried when the royal troops were faced with a fresh and more potent danger. Harsha sent the town-prefect, Nāga, with the choicest of his men to meet the attack, but the latter showed extreme cowardice and submitted to Uchchala without any resistance.[2] Approach to the city was possible only through a bridge of boats constructed by the king at a great cost and the possession of the bridgehead was now the crucial point before both the forces.[3] The rebel forces were led by Uchchala and Janakachandra, the Ḍāmara chief, while Harsha himself undertook the defence of the bridge.[4] But the royal forces were disheartened and the outcome of the battle was decided when Harsha's elephant, unable to withstand the shower of arrows from the rebels, turned about and fled from the field killing many of the royal troops.[5]

Till the last-ditch stand of Harsha, the citizens of the capital had exhibited extreme indifference.[6] Perhaps the realisation had dawned upon them that the king's days were numbered. The royal seraglio, led by the Shāhi princesses, had burnt itself in the palace of the hundred gates. Bhoja, Harsha's son, fled towards Lohara with a handful of loyal servants to save himself.[7] An orgy of loot and plunder of the royal treasures and the palace followed in which the Ḍāmaras and citizens vied with each other and even the womenfolk from the royal household were carried away by the Ḍāmaras.[8] The palace and its adjoining buildings were set on fire and completely burnt down.[9]

Death of Harsha.

Harsha, now thoroughly beaten, was a picture of misery and dejection. Two courses were open to him—either to die fighting or seek shelter at

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1540.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1542-45.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1539, 1547-49.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1547-48.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1553-54.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1551.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1566-68.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1572-78.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1580-81.

Lohara.[1] He wavered between the two and was more concerned about the safety of his son, Bhoja.[2] Gradually, he was deserted by all his followers except Prayāga and his brother Mukta, who maintained their loyalty till the end. The news of the death of Bhoja took away all his interest in life.[3] He sought refuge with a mendicant, but was betrayed and was soon surrounded by rebel forces led by the Ḍāmaras and done to death in 1101 A.D., after a reign of 12 years.[4] Incidentally, with his death, according to Kalhaṇa, a new tradition—that of cutting off the king's head—was started in the valley.[5]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1585-86.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1587, 1590-91, 1607.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1650-56, 1670, 1698.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1636, 1661-1712.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1722-24.

12

UCHCHALA AND SUSSALA

The assassination of Harsha brought to an end the rule of the main branch of the dynasty (founded by Udayarāja) which had guided the destiny of the people in the valley for nearly a century (98 years).[1] Uchchala, the new king, who ascended the throne after Harsha, was also a scion of the same dynasty and thus related to Harsha. His accession, therefore, marked the beginning of the rule of the second branch of the same family.

Trouble by the Ḍāmaras.

Uchchala, as narrated in the foregoing pages, had to strive hard for the possession of the throne which, however, did not prove a bed of roses for him. He spent some time in assessing the situation, but very soon all his energy and resources were called upon to deal with the problems created by the recalcitrant Ḍāmaras and his younger brother, Sussala.[2] The former, ever troublesome and arrogant, had championed the cause of Uchchala and had been instrumental in his gaining the throne but now they became swollen with pride and arrogance, indulging in acts detrimental to the interests of the state and endangering internal peace. Later, they even began disobeying the commands of the king.[3] For some time Uchchala, out of gratitude for their earlier help, tolerated them but later had to take effective steps to check their activities.

At last Uchchala had to give an ultimatum to the Ḍāmaras to mend their ways within a reasonable time and at the same time diplomatically created bad blood between the two leading Ḍāmara chiefs, Janaka-

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 1732.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2-5.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 4.

chandra and Bhīmādeva.[1] Soon the two factions came to an open clash and Janakachandra lost his life in the ensuing struggle for supremacy.[2] The rest of the Ḍāmaras, terrified by the bloodshed, soon disbanded and Uchchala lost no time in taking advantage of the situation.[3] Other Ḍāmara chiefs were soon crushed and only Gagga, a brother of Janakachandra, who had somehow wormed his way into the confidence of the king, was spared and tolerated.[4]

Administrative Reforms.

After ascending the throne, Uchchala had introduced many reforms to improve the administrative machinery of the state. He was extremely conscious of the difficulties and problems of his subjects and since early morning till sunset, moved about amongst his subjects dealing with the problems of governance; he was also very prompt in crushing any designs of rebellion even though it be midnight.[5] With a high sense of justice, he had exhorted his judicial officers to see that no one took to the practice of fasting to death (*prāyopaveśa*) due to injustice.[6] Very often he went out in disguise, mixed with masses, heard their remarks about his shortcomings and tried to give them up.[7] There was a net-work of spies who reported to him everything and the officers of the state were allowed to see him even at night.[8] He tried to alleviate the hardships of famines by releasing foodgrains from state-stores at cheaper prices and showered upon his subjects the blessings of peace.[9] Old and dilapidated buildings were pulled down to be replaced by new ones and the whole town of Nandikshetra was rebuilt as it had been destroyed by a devastating fire.[10]

Uchchala was particularly severe upon his Kāyastha officials who had been bleeding the masses white by their extortionist habits.[1] Many of these officials, on their guilts being proved, were either demoted, dismissed or imprisoned.[2] He found novel methods of heaping disgrace upon such dishonest persons and even reduced them to beggary.[3] Those that remained in office were kept in control by honest superintendents appointed by the king.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 21-22.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 24-32.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 38-39.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 40-44.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 45-48.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 51.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 55.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 63.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 61.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 77-78.

Revolt of Sussala and the Rise of Pretenders.

The activities of Sussala, too, had been causing much concern to Uchchala. The former had started collecting forcible exactions from the villages.[5] Uchchala, out of natural affection towards his younger brother, was at first reluctant to take any stern action against him. Later, when these activities became intolerable day by day, Uchchala sent him to Lohara as his viceroy (*adhirāja*).[6] This diplomatic move was, no doubt, in the interest of the country, but Sussala knew fully well that he would not be welcome at Lohara. He, therefore, not only carried with him considerable treasury, arms and a large body of soldiers, but also prince Pratāpa son of Utkarsha, to Lohara.[7] There he declared before a gathering of neighbouring chiefs that he wanted to crown Pratāpa as the king of the valley and serve the latter as his *pratīhāra* (literally door-keeper).[8]

Uchchala, however, was not destined to rule in peace. Sussala had strengthened his position at Lohara and led a surprise attack on Uchchala in an attempt to capture the throne. It is quite possible that Sussala wanted to take advantage of the 'official purge' which the king had initiated after ascending the throne and was hopeful of some support from the disbanded officials. In rapid marches, he reached Varāhavarta while Uchchala also marched forth to meet the challenger.[9] Sussala at first retreated, but made a vain bid the next day. Gaggachandra, the royal

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 85 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 92.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 93-101.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 109.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 4-5.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 8.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 9-10.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 11.
9. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 191-92.

commander, however, inflicted a crushing defeat on him.[1] Sussala took a flight leaving a large number of horses behind. He was hotly pursued by Uchchala,[2] but the latter committed a tactical blunder in not laying siege to Lohara while Sussala was on the run. This lapse was fully utilized by Sussala who was able to reach the Darad land without much difficulty.[3] Kalhaṇa informs us that Uchchala had tender regard for Sussala, hence the lapse on Uchchala, addicted to a life of ease and comfort, did not proceed to that hilly fortress because of the difficulties of terrain, route and other hardships involving such a march.[4] Sussala, on the other hand, though discomfited, was able to reach Lohara through devious mountainous routes and passes after undergoing severe hardships.[5] During this period while he was on the run, Sussala contracted matrimony with the daughter of King Vijayapāla (a daughter's daughter of Kalha, the chief of Kālimjara).[6] This matrimonial alliance strengthened the position of Sussala and now Uchchala was not in a position to attack Lohara without risking severe opposition from the combined forces of Vijayapāla, Kalha and Sussala. After some time, a son was born of this marriage, and it so happened that henceforth, there was a marked change in the fortunes of Sussala who named the child as Jayasiṁha. According to Kalhaṇa, the child bore certain auspicious marks on his body (foot) and henceforth the brothers, Uchchala and Sussala, maintained peaceful and friendly relations between themselves, thus ushering in a comparatively tranquil atmosphere in the valley.[7]

Other Revolts and Attempts for the Throne.

Besides Sussala,[8] Uchchala had to reckon with other pretenders to the crown also. Bhīmādeva had taken up the cause of Bhoja, 'a son of Kalaśa' and had called to his assistance the Darada chief Jagaddala and several others including Salha, son of a concubine of Harsha.[1] But the conspirators were thwarted in their designs by the tactful handling of the situation by Uchchala, and Jagaddala retired to his own land followed by Salha. Sañjapāla was won over by Sussala and Bhoja, who had quietly proceeded to his own place, was deceived by his own men, captured and beheaded.[2] Others, too, were dealt with severely.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 186.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 199-200.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 203.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 207.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 204-05.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 238-42.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 209.

Bhikshāchara.

Some suspicion and fear had lurked in the mind of Uchchala on account of Bhikshāchara, son of Bhoja and grandson of Harsha, who was under the care of Queen Jayamatī.[4] Unfortunately, Kalhaṇa has not given us the details but he informs us that Uchchala had ordered the prince to be put to death, but the latter, who was destined to play an important role in the political history of Kashmir, somehow escaped to Malwa where he was brought up at the court of King Naravaraman.[5]

Rumours of the Death of Uchchala.

The unsettled conditions in the valley are well illustrated by an episode related by Kalhaṇa. Uchchala once went to Kramarājya and thence proceeded to a village, Varhaṭachakra, which had been devastated by fire.[6] While passing through another village, he was suddenly attacked (accosted) and surrounded by a band of robbers, *Chaṇḍālas* by caste. The retinue, few in number, was unable to offer any resistance.[7] With great presence of mind, the king managed to escape but lost contact with his soldiers who thought him to have died.[8] Like wild fire, the rumour reached the capital and the city-prefect, Chuḍḍa, after restoring peace, tried to occupy the throne.[9] Chuḍḍa, however, was foiled in his designs when the king shortly reached the capital safe and sound.

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 209-10.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 211-13.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 214-18.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 15-18.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 224-36.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 250.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 252.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 254.
9. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 257ff.

A Murder Plot.

Uchchala had a very uneasy time ever since he had ascended the throne. Soon there was a plot to assassinate him, its architects being Saḍḍa and several other dismissed and disgruntled officers of the state.[1] Saḍḍa was helped by Chuḍḍa and others who were constantly busy poisoning the ears of other officers against the king. While such machinations were going on against him, Uchchala married Bijjalā, a daughter of a king of Vartula. He had developed a dislike for Jayamatī whom he suspected to have helped Bhikshāchara in escaping to Malwa.[2] While thus surrounded by worries on all sides, he was suddenly involved in the affairs of Rājapurī which needed his utmost attention from the political viewpoint.

Affairs of Rājapurī.

Saṅgrāmapāla, the ruler of Rājapurī, who had once offered political asylum to Uchchala in his adversity, died about this time and there was a war of succession amongst his two sons.[3] The younger, Somapāla, was able to gain the crown after imprisoning his elder brother, who, it appears, was a worthy claimant.[4] Uchchala, who valued his friendship with Saṅgrāmapāla too highly, was angered at this state of affairs and soon repaired to Rājapurī.[5] What happened afterwards is rather inexplicable, for, after reaching Rājapurī, Uchchala seems to have transferred his sympathies towards Somapāla and gave his daughter, Saubhāgyalekhā, in marriage to the latter.[6] The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and feasting and was perhaps the last act of such rejoicings which the king was destined to enjoy for soon after he met a sad and treacherous end.[7]

Assassination of Uchchala.

Uchchala had a very uneasy time ever since he ascended the throne.[8]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 279.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 284-97.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1256-61.

[4] *Ibid..*, II, viii, 288-89.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 289.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 290, 1464.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 291.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 279, 81.

Soon after the festivities were over and the guests had departed, the king had some cause of displeasure with the Tantrins, who were dismissed from all services but allowed to go scotfree.[1] Among the victims of the king's wrath was one, Bhogasena, who had once led an attack against Sussala on behalf of the king.[2] Soon Bhogasena joined hands with the conspirators headed by Saḍḍa, and Chuḍḍa and their ranks swelled with the disgruntled Tantrins.[3] Uchchala seems to have been quite unaware of the conspiracy against him and, while proceeding to the inner chambers of his harem, he was attacked by the conspirators and brutally done to death, though he showed much valour in resisting them.[4] He was hastily cremated by his servants and his two queens, Jayamatī and Bijjalā, also consigned themselved to flames to join their husband.[5] Thus ended the rule of Uchchala in 1111 A.D., when he was in the prime of his life.[6]

Raḍḍaśaṅkharāja.

The death of Uchchala under tragic circumstances narrated above afforded full opportunity to the conspirators, many of whom were eager to usurp the throne. Amongst them Raḍḍa was the most cunning and he quickly managed to usurp the 'lion throne' of Kashmir.[7] But within twenty four hours, he was dispossessed of it and the powerful Ḍāmara chief Gargachandra killed him brutally.[8]

After the killing of Raḍḍa, the already chaotic conditions of the valley took a turn for the worse. Though Garga was requested by the officers of the state to occupy the throne, he refused to do so.[9] He exhibited considerable political acumen at the moment, for, though he was in favour of consecrating the infant son of Uchchala on the throne, he later acquisced to

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 292.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 293-94.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 296-303.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 306-28.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 563-69.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 341.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 342; For his coins, see Cunningham, A., *C.M.I.*, p. 45, Pl. V.
8. *R.T.*, II, viii, 348.
9. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 370.

the combined clamour of the Tantrins, mounted soldiers and the councillors to instal Salhaṇa, son of Mallarāja, on the throne.[1] Thus within one day and a night, Kashmir had three kings one after the other—Uchchala, Raḍḍa and Salhaṇa.[2]

Salhaṇa (1111-1112 A.D.).

From the very beginning, Salhaṇa was destined not to rest in peace. In the first place, he may have been regarded only a stop-gap arrangement; secondly, his chances of remaining on the throne depended largely on the support of his followers and, thirdly, he had to retain his throne against a formidable foe like Sussala. The latter, on being informed by Garga, of his brother's murder, soon started for the capital without even collecting his troops, under the impression that he would be called upon to occupy the throne.[3] While on the way, a messenger apprised him of the subsequent events leading to the coronation of Salhaṇa and tried to dissuade him, on behalf of Garga, from proceeding any further.[4] Sussala, however, did not accept this advice as he contended that the throne had been won by his brother and himself by the prowess of their arms and as such, he was the rightful claimant after him.[5] He, however, tried to win over Gargachandra and dispatched his foster-brother as an envoy to him.[6] At the same time, he tried to increase his armed strength by enlisting the support of Bhogasena, one of the principal figures in the murder of Uchchala.[7] Garga, who was wavering in indecision, got annoyed at this development and flatly refused to help Sussala who was supported by such traitors as Bhogasena.[8] Even the people viewed this alliance of Sussala with disfavour and, sensing the way the wind was blowing, he murdered Bhogasena without any compunctions.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 371, 373-76. Mallarāja, the father of Uchchala and Sussala, had three sons by his another queen Śvetā; of these the middle one had already died. The remaining two, Salhaṇa and Loṭhana, being alive, were searched for by Śaṅkharāja to be killed as they were brothers of Uchchala and Sussala, but they had taken shelter in the Navamaṭha.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 377.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 380-83.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 384-85.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 386-88.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 392.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 393-94.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 395-96.

A clash of arms became inevitable; but Sussala had a very negligible force at his disposal.[2] Even with the opportune arrival of Sañjapāla with a small contingent of cavalry, the situation was not favourable.[3] Garga on the other hand had a formidable force at his command and ordered his commander, Sūrya, to attack the enemy. Sussala and his forces, hopelessly outnumbered, were thoroughly beaten. He was able to save himself with great difficulty along with some twenty or thirty soldiers and Sañjapāla.[4] He repaired to Vīrānaka, a stronghold of the Khaśas and, though tired and harassed, fell upon the Khaśas, replenished his requirements and finally reached Lohara after surmounting the difficulties of the terrain and the snow.[5] Though thoroughly discomfited, he yet cherished the dream of capturing the throne for himself in near future.[6]

Ascendancy of Gargachandra.

The events narrated above placed Garga and his followers in the unassailable position of a king-maker.[7] Salhaṇa, on the other hand, was a mere weakling, lacking in political acumen and Garga took full advantage of the situation.[8] He started acting like an autocrat, wreaking vengeance on those whom he suspected of being against him.[9] He had Hitahita, a foster-brother of Sussala, drowned and many Ḍāmaras were poisoned.[10] Drunk with power, he soon became a terror both to the masses and the officials while the country suffered at the hands of incompetent officers.[11] At last his cup of tyranny was full, the people unable to bear up his atrocities any further, rose in rebellion under one Tilakasiṁha and surrounded his residence.[1] The king, too, was sore with Garga and encouraged the besiegers by dispatching Loṭhana to their help.[2] One day in the cover of darkness Garga, however, secretly escaped from his residence and repaired to Lohara.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 395-97.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 400.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 401-02.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 403-09.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 410-11.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 412.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 415.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 417.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 425.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 392, 413.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 420-28.

In spite of the fact that Garga had fled away due to adverse circumstances, there was a general dread in the palace as well as amongst the townfolk that he would return soon. Salhaṇa, who 'had no qualities of a ruler and merely danced to the tune of Gargachandra',[4] too, was troubled and felt anxious to 'conciliate' him. But the followers of the latter did not wish that he should ally himself with the king again. Though Garga did not have any liking for Sussala, yet, under the pressure of his followers, he ultimately decided to support him.[5] Salhaṇa, who knew his future well, out of sheer desperation, started eliminating suspicious officers and nobles one by one.[6] At the same time, he sent Lakkaka to punish Garga but the former was utterly routed by the latter at Varāhamūla and compelled to flee for safety to Sussala under the protection of Sañjapāla.[7] Sussala, meanwhile, was watching the turn of affairs with keen interest. Although he was suspicious of Garga yet he accepted his hand of friendship and also married the latter's daughter, Rājalakshmī.[8] Meanwhile, he had sent Sañjapāla in advance towards the capital as he had no trust in Garga.[9] With Sañjapāla ahead of him, he now proceeded towards the capital, urged and welcomed by the masses and the Ḍāmaras.[10]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 430.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 433.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 436-37.

[4] Lallanji Gopal, *E.M.C.T.N.I.* pp. 26-27.

[5] *R.T.*, II, viii, 442.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 443-47.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 451-55.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 450, 459-60. In order to strengthen the bonds of friendship with Garga, Sussala had accepted one of Garga's daughters in marriage and further cemented it by marrying the younger daughter of Garga with one of his sons.

[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 450, 55.

[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 456.

Salhaṇa Imprisoned.

Salhaṇa offered whatever resistance he could but his forces had become depleted by constant desertions and he was soon surrounded in his palace by the forces of Sañjapāla. Sussala, too, arrived soon[1] and Kalhaṇa gives a graphic description of the ensuing battle which, however, ended with the surrender of Salhaṇa and Loṭhana to Sussala and his forces.[2] The ill-fated brothers were soon cast into prison and Sussala ascended the throne in 1112 A.D. nearly four months after the murder of Uchchala.[3]

Sussala (1112-20 A.D.).

The reign of Sussala commenced on a promising note and, judging from the eloquence of Kalhaṇa's account, it may be surmised that the new king was able to set up an efficient system of administration for the welfare of the people of the valley.[4] He was just and firm in taking decisions, bore no ill will towards his erstwhile adversaries, was strict in realising dues yet, at the same time, liberal in bestowing alms.[5] There was an all-round growth of industries and the king was occupied with new projects of public utility. Fortune, too, smiled on him, as during his short reign, there were no calamities of nature like famines or floods in the valley.[6]

Revolt of Gargachandra.

Sussala, however, was not destined to reign in peace for long. Garga, who had enjoyed a free hand in the affairs of the state during the short reign of Salhaṇa, was itching for more authority and power than was vested in him. Very soon an occasion presented itself to cause an open rift between the king and Garga. Uchchala had left behind an infant son who was in the protective custody of Garga. He had appointed Sahasramaṅgala as the guardian of the child. Sussala, in anger, exiled Sahasramaṅgala whom Garga had thought of elevating to the throne.[7] Garga also refused to give up the custody of the infant son when so directed by the king.[1] The affairs took an ugly turn when Garga clashed with the royal troops and beat them back while his relatives also took up arms against the royal forces.[2] The forces of the king suffered heavy casualties.[3] Ultimately, Sussala himself had to take the field along with his trusted generals. Garga was overwhelmed, forced to surrender and hand over the custody of Uchchala's son to Sussala.[4] Later, the king proceeded to Lohara, put Salhaṇa and Loṭhana behind the bars and received the submission and obeisance of several chiefs from the neighbouring regions.[5] He also had the foresight not to slight Garga. Favours were showered on him and the king went to the extent of punishing those who had designs on his relatives' lives even at the peril of his own safety.[6]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 458-61.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 461-77.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 480.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 482-98.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 485, 89, 92.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 498.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 371, 500. The passages in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (viii, 371,

Other Revolts.

The rebellion of Garga was closely followed by an abortive uprising of Sahasramaṅgala and a few such notable persons like Sañjapāla and Yaśorāja, whom the king had exiled.[7] The rebels, led by Prāsa, however, received a setback when Yaśorāja was wounded in a clash with the royal troops and the danger seemed to have been averted, for the time being.[8]

Besides the revolts of Garga and Sahasramaṅgala, a far more potent threat to Sussala loomed large on the horizon of the valley. Taking advantage of the situation created by these uprisings, three local chief-

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500-03) are not clear as the name of the infant son of Uchchala has not been mentioned by the Chronicler. It is clear that Garga was more concerned abont the safety of that child and had tried to place Sahasramaṅgala on the throne as a stop-gap arrangement till the infant child grew up to manhood.

[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 502.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 503-04.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 506-11.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 512, 14-18.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 519.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 524-30.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 533-35. Kalhaṇa, however, does not adduce any convincing reasons for the exile of Sañjapāla, who had faithfully stood by Sussala through all his vicissitudes of fortune.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 536.

tains and two heirs-apparent of small principalities, viz,, Jāsaṭa of Champā, Vajradhara of Babbāpura, Rājā Sahajapāla of Vartula (all chiefs) and two *yuvarājas*, Balha and Ānandarāja of Trigarta and Vallāpura respectively, entered into an alliance against Sussala.[1] They planned to champion the cause of Bhikshāchara, a son of Prince Bhoja, grandson of Harsha, and an equally rightful claimant to the Kashmir throne.[2] The above named chiefs, after their secret parleys, journeyed to Kurukshetra where Bhikshāchara was residing in exile after having been brought up at the court of the Mālava king Naravarman. Assured of help from them, Bhikshāchara entered the valley and proceeded to Vallāpura where he was joined by some more important persons who had been exiled from the kingdom.[3] Bhikshāchara, in order to strengthen his position, also married the daughter of the ruler of Vallāpura and soon aroused the sympathies of the local Kshatriyas towards his cause.[4]

The news of this fresh trouble considerably perturbed Sussala.[5] But, unfortunately, for the supporters of Bhikshāchara, some of his important supporters lost their lives in the very first engagement with the king's forces.[6] Queen Āsamatī, who had so far financed the venture, also died, leaving Bhikshāchara a destitute and the prince began to prove a burden to his father-in-law, Padmaka, lord of Vallāpura.[7] Bhikshāchara, therefore, sought refuge with Jāsaṭa for a few years and later stayed with Deṅgapāla (whose daughter he also married) in comparative comfort, biding his time for a favourable wind.[8]

Execution of Garga.

Sussala, however, was not able to attract the loyalty of his officers and commanders and this proved a distrurbing factor in the machinery of administration. Prāsa, son of Sahasramaṅgala, planned a revolt, but was

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 537-41.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 16-18, 544.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 542-45.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 547-48.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 549.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 549-50.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 551-52.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 553-55.

deceived by his own followers, and fell into the king's hands who promptly put him behind the bars.[1] But some of the king's faithful followers like Sañjapāla also deserted him. Bereft of tried and trusted men, Sussala made certain appointments, but the new officers proved far from satisfactory and their advice often misled the king.[2] The new officers, headed by Gauraka, the chief minister, who had replaced Sahela, began fleecing the masses in various ways and the king seemed only too pleased of accumulating immense riches which he dispatched to Lohara.[3] Very soon these officers were able to successfully poison the ears of the king against Garga and his son, Kalyāṇachandra, and he became hostile towards them. Garga, however, came to know of his mind and retired to his own stronghold.[4] Thwarted in his designs, the king released Mallakoshṭha, who was an enemy of Garga, from prison and sent him against Garga.[5] But Garga scored a signal victory over the royal forces at Amareśvara and compelled them to beat a retreat.[6] Piqued by this ignominy, the king himself marched forth against Garga, burnt his stronghold and compelled him to seek shelter at Dhuḍāvana.[7] Hotly pursued by the king and his forces, Garga was compelled to be constantly on the run and resort to guerrilla warfare so as to reduce the king's forces.[8] Unable to carry on the struggle single-handed any longer, he had ultimately to submit and sue for peace.[9] But Sussala nursed his displeasure secretly and though apparently reconciled, never lost any opportunity to humiliate Garga and heap greater rewards upon Mallakoshṭha. Garga was later imprisoned and finally put to death along with his three sons in 1118 A.D.[10] But his execution did not end Sussala's troubles; instead, they went on mounting steadily.[11]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 556-57.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 560.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 564-67ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 584-86.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 588-89.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 590-94.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 595.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 597.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 600-01.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 602-16.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 615-20.

Expedition against Rājapurī.

While Sussala had been engaged in settling his own affairs, the royal house of Rājapurī was involved in an internecine warfare. Somapāla, the king of Rājapurī, had put his step-brother, Pratāpapāla to death through his minister; but Nāgapāla, another brother of Somapāla, had killed the minister, thus arousing the anger of the king. Nāgapāla had thereafter fled for safety and sought asylum at the court of Sussala.[1] Somapāla tried to maintain friendly relations and appease Sussala, but the latter was adamant and 'decided to wage war' against him. This naturally compelled Somapāla to turn towards Bhikshāchara, the rival of Sussala for help.[2] Thereupon, Sussala led an attack against Rājapurī but Somapāla fled for safety and the king placed Nāgapāla on the throne. He stayed there for 7 months, and it appears from Kalhaṇa's account that Rājapurī was under military occupation all the time.[3] Yet, despite a few administrative reforms and respect shown towards some religious institutions by the king, the people of Rājapurī still maintained their attachment for Somapāla and could not reconcile to the rule of Nāgapāla, Sussala's protégé. The rule of Nāgapāla was, however, shortlived, for, immediately after the departure of Sussala, Somapāla reoccupied his throne.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 619-20.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 621-22.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 623-32.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 634-35. According to Kalhaṇa, Nāgapāla followed Sussala as he had lost his throne. Neither the circumstances nor the reasons for such a course on the part of Nāgapāla have been stated by the Chronicler. Several possibilities may have been responsible for it. Perhaps Somapāla was able to assert himself immediately after the departure of Sussala and he had the sympathies of the people of Rājapurī. Also Sussala's prolonged sojourn at Rājapurī might have offered opportunities for rebellion elsewhere (and in this case there was a serious uprising at Lohara (*ibid.*, II, viii, 641 ff.) which forced Sussala to return to Kashmir. The king was thus unable to offer any protection to his protégé Nāgapāla. It is also possible that, gradually, Somapāla and Bhikshāchara had been able to muster sufficient armed strength to measure swords with Sussala and, finding himself insecure at Rājapurī, the king left the place along with Nāgapāla. Least probable is the suggestion that Sussala found Nāgapāla much too incompetent and, tired of spoonfeeding, withdrew his support to him with the result that Nāgapāla, too, had to flee from Rājapurī. Soma-

Revolt at Lohara.

The prolonged absence of the king from the capital offered the disgruntled elements in the state an opportunity to raise their heads.[1] The military expedition against Rājapurī had meant a heavy drain on the royal coffers and the king had to levy fresh taxes for more funds and economise by cutting down his own expenditure.[2] Certain drastic changes in the administrative set-up and punishments meted out to several officers also caused discontent amongst his ministers while the newly recruited officials, inexperienced as they were, caused considerable financial losses to the royal treasury.[3] Meanwhile, trouble broke out at Lohara. Though Garga had been put to death, his followers and sympathisers were active there. The king appointed Gajjaka as the 'police superintendent' (*Daṇḍādhikārin*) there, but the latter was treacherously murdered by Mallakoshṭha.[4] In retaliation, Sussala imprisoned Arjuna, an elder step-brother of Mallakoshṭha, and several others and proceeded to Lohara. There he learnt that Mallakoshṭha had already fled and so, in order to give vent to his wrath, he got Arjuna brutally murdered.[5]

The uprising at Lohara and the suppressive policy of Sussala led to more revolts. The Ḍāmaras felt dissatisfied and trouble also broke out at Avantipura.[6] Pṛithvīhara, the local chief, escaped when the royal forces advanced on the town and sought shelter with his relative, Kshīra. The king tried to crush the revolt with an iron hand, but Pṛithvīhara and Kshīra managed to enter into league with other Ḍāmara chiefs, 18 in number.[7] Sussala, however, managed to crush the Ḍāmaras through his commander-in-chief, Tilaka.[8] But, far from rewarding Tilaka for his

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pāla, as shall subsequently be noticed, vigorously championed the cause of Bhikshāchara and took the field against Sussala on several occasions (*R.T.*, II, viii, 764, 885, 914, etc.).

[1] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 640-42.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 636.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 637-38.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 640-41.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 642-45. Like Mallakoshṭha, the full name of Arjuna was Arjunakoshṭha.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 646-50.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 651.

[8] *Ibid* , II, viii, 652-55.

bravery, the king slighted him and discontent began to brew even in his own ranks.[1] The Ḍāmaras, on the other hand, resorted to destroying royal stores and the fire of dissatisfaction was further fanned by the Brāhmaṇas who resorted to fasting in the wake of a plague which was responsible for destroying cattle-wealth in large numbers.[2]

Uprising of the Ḍāmaras.

As noted above, the Ḍāmaras, though humbled by Tilaka, were still active and by 1120 A.D., had organized themselves sufficiently to raise their heads against Sussala once again.[3] Fresh revolt first broke out at Devasarasa, where the royal forces, commanded by Nāgavaṭṭa held out for quite long against heavy odds. The king was thereupon forced to solicit the help of Tilaka, whom he had treated unfairly after his earlier services. In the meanwhile, Mallakoshṭha also rose in revolt at Lohara[4] and the king himself had to move out to Thalyoraka. His forces were, however, surprised in a night-attack from the enemy and had to retreat.[5] The rebels now gained an upper hand and let loose a reign of plunder, taking forcible possession even of the royal horses.[6] The discomfited Sussala, in sheer revenge, resorted to deeds of utter cruelty and wickedness, his victims in the main being the relatives of the Ḍāmara chiefs and even their womenfolk.[7] Such persecutions caused considerable alarm even amongst his own officers.

Bhikshāchara's Appearance.

At about this time, though for a while dormant but a far more potent opponent in the figure of Bhikshāchara was introduced in the active political arena by Vijaya.[8] The latter, however, was killed in an attack led by Tilaka, the commander-in-chief of the royal forces.[9] But the king once

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 655-56.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 657-60.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 661, 663.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 665-67.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 667-72.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 673-74.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 675-79.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 684.
9. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 685-86.

again failed to appreciate the achievements of Tilaka, who now grew lukewarm towards his cause.[1] In the meanwhile, Mallakoshṭha also began to espouse the cause of Bhikshāchara and tried to bring him into the country.[2] Tilaka advised the king to check the advance of Bhikshāchara and offered his services for the same, but the king planned to fall on his enemy at some strategic place when the enemy was deep in the country.[3] The plan of the king, however, proved to be his undoing. Bhikshāchara managed to gain considerable popular sympathy and covert as well as overt support from all quarters.[4] The king was now considerably alarmed, and worse followed when his forces were utterly routed by Pṛithvīhara in 1120 A.D.[5] Sussala now realized that his cause was lost and sent his family to Lohara, with the intention of following it but, due to certain bad omens and his superstitious mind, he again returned back to the capital.[6]

Meanwhile, Bhikshāchara had reached Maḍavarājya and, with the help of some powerful Ḍāmaras, was soon able to join hands with Mallakoshṭha.[7] Desperately, the king tried to raise fresh recruits at an enormous cost, but the rebel forces, led by Pṛithvīhara, advanced upon Amareśvara, killed the leader of the royal forces and closed on all sides of the capital.[8] While Tilaka still held out at Vijayeśvara, the rebels made repeated attacks on the capital and its fall was imminent.[9] Sussala was, however, determined to make a bold stand and himself exhibited considerable bravery. He also made adequate arrangements for the care of his wounded soldiers sparing neither money nor material over their welfare.[10] The strong cavalry contingent of the king checked the advance of Mallakoshṭha and other rebels for some time, but Bhikshāchara and a few other rebels managed to reach Sureśvarī with the help of a formidable force of archers which got the better of the royal cavalry. It appears that, by now, Tilaka had realized the futility of supporting the king's cause and, secretly nursing his earlier humiliations, had connived at the passage of the rebels through the difficult marshy terrain.[1] The Ḍāmaras were now considerably emboldened and occupied the bank of Mahāsarit. Sussala had made extensive preparations for the defence of the capital and planned to hold out with the help of his officers whom he was paying heavy sums.[2] The rebels, on the other hand, took a heavy toll of the royal forces in their sporadic raids on the outskirts of the city.[3] The king was helpless and, to add to his cup of sorrows, some scheming Brāhmaṇas resorted to fasting on account of the indifferent attitude of the ministers and demanded that the latter be punished.[4] The king, however, persuaded them to give up the fast by offering bribes.

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 687 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 697.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 698-99.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 702-10.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 711-14.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 715-19.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 723-25.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 726-32.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 733-38.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 739-42.

Without realizing the ulterior motives of Pṛithvīhara, Sussala, realizing his predicament, entered into negotiations for peace at the instance of the former.[5] He sent three of his trusted ministers to discuss the terms of the treaty but the deceitful Pṛithvīhara got them assassinated along with their attendants.[6] The king now lost all hope and his followers also started deserting him.[7] There was utter confusion in his ranks and his soldiers, too, rose in revolt.[8] Anarchy had reached such proportions that his gold and jewels could appease neither the troops nor the greedy Brāhmaṇas (purohitas).[9] Ultimately, the king was forced to abandon the capital at the mercy of the looters and proceeded to Lohara in 1120 A.D., along with some 5 or 6 thousand soldiers.[10]

After the departure of Sussala from Srinagar, the city prefect, Janakasiṁha, having conferred with the ministers, Tantrins and other dignitaries of the state[11] assumed charge of the capital. The supporters of

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 744-52.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 755-57.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 758-62.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 768-74.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 777-81.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 782-84.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 785-802.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 803-07.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 808-11.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 815-31.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 837-38.

Bhikshāchara, led by Mallakosṭha, however, persuaded Janakasiṁha to offer his son and nephew as hostages as a guarantee for the triumphal entry of Bhikshāchara into the capital.[1]

Bhikshāchara[2] (1120-21 A.D.).

Under the circumstances noted above, sovereignty now passed on to Bhikshāchara. The first act of the new king, no doubt with a view to entrench himself on the throne, was to enter into matrimony with a niece of Janakasiṁha and offer rich rewards to his Ḍāmara and other supporters.[3] But, inexperienced as he was in court-craft, Bhikshāchara utterly failed to show any statesmanship.[4] All powers during his rule were in reality vested in the hands of Bimba, the prime minister, and other fortune-seekers also flocked to his court for personal gains.[5] Pṛithvīhara and Mallakoshṭha, the two stalwarts of his court, became inimical to each other due to personal jealousies.[6] Bhikshāchara did his best to patch up their differences but failed; Mallakoshṭha left the king's side and was soon joined by Janakasiṁha, who despite his relationship, was against Bhikshāchara.[7]

The Expedition to Lohara.

Bhikshāchara seems to have been quite alive to the threat of Sussala's return to the capital. Accordingly, he sent an expedition against Sussala (who was residing at Lohara) under the command of Bimba and Somapāla who were also assisted by a Turushka (Muslim) cavalry force under 'Sallāra' Vismaya, with whom the king had entered into some sort of alliance.[8] Having thus dispatched a large body of his armed forces against Sussala, the king, instead of devoting his energies towards improving the administration, gave himself up to sexual pleasures and soon became very

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 837-48.
2. The career of Bhikshāchara has been discussed in detail in *J.U.P.H.S.*, XI-XIII, '*Itihāsa-Chayanikā*', pp. 67-74.
3. *R.T.*, II, viii, 851-55, 860.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 859, 67.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 860-66.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 876.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 877-79.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 884-87.

unpopular amongat his subjects.[1] The absence of Bimba from the capital tempted Mallakoshṭha and Janakasiṁha to send messengers to Sussala to make a fresh attempt for the throne and promised their support to him.[2] To add to his misfortunes, Tilaka, who was the commander-in-chief and his father-in-law,[3] thoughtlessly looted the *agrahāra* of Akshosuva, whereupon the Brāhmaṇas of that locality resorted to mass-fasting.[4] This was followed by a general fasting in the capital by Brāhmaṇas holding other *agrahāras* and the trouble was further fanned by the support it received from the *purohita*-corporations of the temples.[5] The king tried to appease them, but in vain. They became vociferous and openly began to clamour for the return of Sussala and, supported by the common masses, were even ready to defy the king in an open conflict.[6] The king himself proceeded to Vijayśevara in a bid to appease the Brāhmaṇas, but failed in his mission.[7] While thus confronted, he was advised by Tilaka to kill all the Ḍāmaras, whom, presumably, he suspected to have been behind the Brāhmaṇa intransigence.[8] Wiser counsel, however, prevailed over the king who could not, at that hour, incur further wrath from a formidable section of his supporters.[9] In desperation, Bhikshāchara called a general meeting of the entire populace in the capital and tried to reason with them, but to no avail.[10]

While Bhikshāchara was thus confronted with a wave of rebellion against him, Bimba and Somapāla had marched up to Parṇotsa for an attack on Sussala, who was at Lohara.[11] The latter had also been joined by Padmaratha, the ruler of Kāliñjara, along with his family and supporters.[12] Sussala, who had been smarting under his earlier humiliation, fell upon the royal forces with a ferocity and revengefulness which had never been noticed in the annals of Kashmir.[1] He inflicted heavy casualties in the ranks of the royal forces and defeated Somapāla, compelling him to retreat.[2] This was a signal for the opportunist Kashmiri soldiers of the king's forces to cross over to the side of Sussala.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 888-91, 93-94.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 897.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 860.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 898.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 899-902.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 903, 906.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 908.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 909.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 909-10.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 912-13.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 914.
[12] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 915.

Reappearance of Sussala.

The battle of Parṇotsa proved to be a decisive one for Sussala, who returned to Kashmir preceded by the Ḍāmaras of Kramarājya.[4] Bimba and other officials, who had earlier deserted his side now joined him and Bhikshāchara was left with Prithvīhara alone by his side.[5] Even Janakasiṁha decided to cross over to Sussala and when Bhikshāchara tried to punish him, he confronted him with the cavalry and the Tantrins.[6] For a time, Janakasiṁha and the Tantrins offered stiff opposition to Bhikshāchara, but they were soon overwhelmed by Pṛithvīhara from the rear.[7] As Bhikshāchara approached the city, the fasting Brāhmaṇas soon gave up their fast and dispersed in fright, while the former wrecked a terrible vengeance upon Janakasiṁha's followers.[8]

In the meanwhile, Sussala, along with Mallakoshṭha, Janaka and the troops of neighbouring chiefs, marched towards the capital after defeating Tilaka and other supporters of Bhikshāchara at Hushkapura.[9] After a minor engagement, Bhikshāchara and Pṛithvīhara, along with a few faithful Lavanyas, fled away to Pushyāṇanāḍa, which lay in the territory of Somapāla and Sussala was able to regain the throne.[10]

Sussala' Return to Power (1121-28 A.D.).

Courage, fortitude and the prevailing political conditions in the valley had once again placed Sussala on the throne, but he had to face a sea of troubles from the very beginning. While trying to stabilise his position, he appointed new ministers in place of old ones, but this move, far from creating confidence, was looked upon with suspicion both by the jealous officers as well as the people. On the other hand, Bhikshāchara, who had sought refuge with Somapāla, was busy collecting forces for an attempt to recapture the throne.[1] Bhikshāchara also had an able supporter in Pṛithvīhara.[2] In fact the latter was able to capture Śūrapura with a small force and had sought further help from the Ḍāmaras of Maḍavarājya.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 916-21.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 921-23.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 923-24.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 926.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 927-28.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 930-32.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 934-37.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 939-40, 43.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 944-46.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 955-59.

Fresh Attempt by Bhikshāchara and his Supporters.

Pṛithvīhara was quick to seize the opportunity of his victory. He asked Bhikshāchara to establish himself at Śūrapura and, after being assured of help from the Ḍāmaras of Maḍavarājya, marched forth to Vijayakshetra where he defeated Harshamitra, commander of the royal forces, and compelled him to flee to Avantipura.[4] The people of Vijayakshetra and the neighbouring towns sought refuge in the famous shrine of Chakradhara.[5] A terrible fate awaited these refugees in the shrine, for Janakarāja, a Ḍāmara, in order to wreck personal vengeance, set it on fire. The conflagration spared neither men, women and children nor horses and other animals.[6] This merciless act of arson, totally uncalled for, seems to have gone against Bhikshāchara.[7] Sussala immediately marched forth with his followers to punish the rebels[8]; Janakarāja was soon killed and the Ḍāmaras were driven out of Vijayakshetra.[9] But, surprisingly, Sussala, suffered defeat at the hands of the rebels at Śamālā. Thenceforth, Bhikshāchara seems to have shaken off his lethargy and showed considerable valour in subsequent armed engagements.[10] Both the sides now tried to woo the

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 959, 964.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 965.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 967-68.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 969-70.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 971.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 973-92.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 996-97.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 999.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1000-02.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1011-12 ff.

Lavanyas but, in the meantime, Sussala was able to defeat Bhikshāchara who, however, again sought refuge with Pṛithvīhara at Pushyāṇanāḍa.[1] At the same time, Simba, the new commander of the royal forces, defeated the Ḍāmaras and crushed the rebellion in Maḍavarājya, thereby affording a brief respite to Sussala from very hard and arduous times.[2]

Sussala, however, did not fully avail of this opportunity and, far from winning over the confidence and support of those who had stood by him during these critical days, began wrecking vengeance on those who had not taken his side in his earlier days.[3] The redoubtable Mallakoshṭha was exiled and had to flee in order to save his life.[4] Sussala probably aimed at having in high offices a ring of persons who had followed him to Lohara. These men, in the eyes of the common masses, were foreigners and this created a feeling of suspicion, mistrust and fright among the common people.[5]

Renewed Attempt by Bhikshāchara.

Though Bhikshāchara and his confidant Pṛithvīhara had been defeated and forced to flee, for the time being, they kept waiting for favourable times to try conclusions afresh. Mallakoshṭha, who had been exiled, now invited them to make a fresh bid for power.[6] Bhikshāchara promptly responded to this gesture, marched forth through Śūrapura and was soon encamped with his forces at a strategic point on the Kshiptikā.[7] Sussala, too, proceeded to Navamaṭha, suitably engirdled by the Vitastā and the two forces clashed with Mallakoshṭha, leading the attack.[8] The strategy adopted by both the warring factions was somewhat different. Pṛithvīhara was still organizing a force of the Ḍāmaras at Vijayakshetra. Sussala, after leaving his commander Prajji to cope with Mallakoshṭha, fell upon him (Pṛithvīhara) and scattered his forces after causing immense loss in men

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 1032-33, 37-38.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1039-40.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1040.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1041.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1047-48.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1051.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1055.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1052-53.

and material to the rebels.[1] But the rebel forces under the command of Manujeśvara, a brother of Pṛithvīhara, entered the capital after defeating Sujji, who was incharge of its defence[2] and set fire to a part of the city before retiring to the garrison at the Kshiptikā.[3] Sussala thought that the capital had been captured by the rebels and, withdrawing his troops from Vijayakshetra, proceeded towards the city.[4] His forces suffered terrible losses as the bridge over the Gambhīrā gave way and thousands perished in the swirling waters of the river, while the king managed to save himself from a watery grave by the skin of his teeth.[5] Though distressed, he kept up his courage and faced the attacking forces of Mallakoshṭha from within the defence-walls of the city.[6]

Sussala was surrounded in the city and many of his supporters, unable to establish contact with him, fled to Vishalāṭā to seek refuge with the Khaśas.[7] The doughty Ḍāmaras, led by Pṛithvihara and with their ranks further filled up by deserting Kashmiris, were now in full cry, but the king faced the situation with a stout heart, though his forces were considerably depleted.[8] He was faithfully served by several noblemen from various localities like Champā and Vallāpura during this period of his tribulations and these faithful followers repeatedly drove back the attacking forces of the Ḍāmaras with heavy losses.[9] Both Bhikshāchara and Pṛithvīhara tried desperately to break through the defences of the capital, but were forced to fall back against the onslaught of freshly arrived royal forces led by Prajji and Sujji.[10] The rebel forces could not cope with the situation because of the late arrival of help from Lohara.[11] In the meantime, Yaśorāja, who had been abroad for some time, returned to his native place and soon joined the king's forces.[1] This consideraly boosted the morale of the royal forces. Pṛithvīhara, sensing a change in the course of events, retreated to his own seat along with Bhikshāchara and the king was now free to deal with the forces under Mallakoshṭha.[2] The latter was easily defeated and Sussala retaliated by an attack on Lohara.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 1057-59.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1060.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1061.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1062-68.
[5] *Ibid.*. II, viii, 1063-66.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1068.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1074, 76.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1077-82.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1013-95, 1099-1103.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1106-1111.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1114.

Having rested his tired forces for some time at Lohara, Sussala advanced towards Śamālā along with Yaśorāja.[4] After a series of engagements with Pṛithvīhara and Mallakoshṭha in which the fortunes changed hands repeatedly, he proceeded to Vijayeśvara on learning of fresh uprisings in Maḍavarājya.[5]

Sussala, however, lost a valuable ally in Yaśorāja whom he had posted at Avantipura.[6] It appears that the king was rough and wild in his choice of words and his temperament had been further soured by the play of his fortunes.[7] Yaśorāja had helped him at a critical juncture and naturally felt aggrieved when the king used vile language for him.[8] Yaśorāja soon joined the enemies with his choicest troops and the king had to retire from Vijayakshetra.[9] Prajji alone now retained in his full confidence.[10] Yaśorāja incited Bhikshāchara to make a fresh bid for the throne and was soon joined by Mallakoshṭha.[11]

While the rebels were thus planning to avenge their earlier discomfiture, there raged a severe famine in the valley (in 1123-24 A.D.) which took a heavy toll of human lives.[12] The king's cup of miseries was not yet full and the Ḍāmaras, ever ready to fish in troubled waters, soon marched down from all sides and besieged the king within the city.[13]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 1117.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1134-25.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1128ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1132.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1134-40.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1143-44.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1141.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1143.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1145.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1147-50.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1151-53.
[12] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1154.
[13] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1155.

Sussala again proved his mettle by defending the city dourly, but the Ḍāmaras caused considerable damage by their continuous raids accompanied by arson and loot.[1] Meanwhile, Yaśorāja, Bhikshāchara and Mallakoshṭha arrived on the banks of the Mahāsarit in a bid to capture the capital.[2] Yaśorāja, however, was killed in a misunderstanding, but Pṛithvīhara directed the Ḍāmaras to attack the city from all sides and posted himself on the Kshiptikā to guard the exit-route.[3] The siege continued for several days in which both sides suffered heavy casualties till, on the twelfth day, the Ḍāmaras set fire to a house which soon enveloped the entire city.[4] Kalhaṇa furnishes a graphic description of the terrible fire and the severe havoc it wrought in the capital, razing it ultimately to the ground.[5] Sussala was unable to cross over to the other side of the Vitastā as the bridge had broken down and was soon surrounded by enemy forces on all sides.[6] Fortunatety for him, Pṛithvīpāla came to his help and Sussala was able to fight his way through the enemy forces.[7] His position was quite precarious as the fire had also destroyed all grain-stores within the city and the Ḍāmaras had blocked the supply-routes.[8] All this heaped terrible miseries and hardships on the people within the city.[9] To add to his miseries and grief, he received the news of the death of his favourite queen, Meghamañjarī, at Phullapura, while on her way to join her husband in the capital.[10]

Crowning of Jayasiṁha and his Confinement.

Sussala, it appears, was now thoroughly disgusted with his own life. He had witnessed many ups and downs in life and towards its fag end was a picture of failure and dejection. He longed to retire and wanted his son,

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 1156-57.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1158.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1159-64.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1165-70.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1170-84.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1186.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1195-1200.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1206-7.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1208-12.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1213-21.

Jayasiṁha, who had since grown to manhood to take charge of the affairs of the state.[1] Accordingly, Jayasiṁha was summoned from Lohara to the capital.[2] The father and the son met at Varāhamūla and the latter was distressed to find his father under heavy weather.[3] Jayasiṁha was duly crowned and acquainted with the responsibilities of governance by Sussala himself. The king, however, retained the reins of government in his own hands.[4] According to Kalhaṇa, this mere act of crowning proved a happy augury for the future, as many ills of the country disappeared as if by themselves.[5] The youthful Jayasiṁha gave proof of his father's trust in his capabilities. He inflicted heavy losses on the rebels in battles and compelled them to lift the blockade of the city. Robberies and other misdeeds disappeared and a good crop was harvested to the immense relief of the people.

Jayasiṁha, however, was not destined to have a smooth sailing. Soon some jealous officials poisoned the ears of Sussala who, suspecting his son of treachery, ordered him to be cast into the prisons.[6] Since Jayasiṁha had gained considerable popularity and esteem, Sussala remained jealous and suspicious about him. He even tried to imprison him, but, failing in his attempt, had him guarded and watched by his own henchmen. The estrangement between the father and son continued for a long time.[7]

Last Days of Sussala.

It appears from the Chronicle that Bhikshāchara, in the meanwhile, was not idle. Accordingly, Sussala made a surprise attack on Kalyāṇapura along with Sujji, routed the supporters of Bhikshāchara and made captive many of Bhikshāchara's allies including Śobhaka.[8] Terrible vengeance was wrecked, many houses set on fire and, out of fear, some prominent supporters of Bhikshāchara, crossed over to Sussala's side and the former was compelled to seek refuge at Śamālā.[1] Sussala stationed a strong garrison at Śūrapura under Ralhaṇa to prevent its recapture by the enemies and was thus able to deal a severe blow to the Ḍāmaras who had sided with Bhikshāchara. These reverses dispirited the protagonists of Bhikshāchara considerably and many, including the pretender himself, thought of fleeing the country.[2]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 1227.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1228.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1229-30ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1232-34.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1235ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1237-38.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1240-43.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1261-63.

Sussala now decided to deal with Somapāla, the ruler of Rājapurī and the main architect of Bhikshāchara's support.[3] But while he waited for the snows to melt he became a victim of a cruel plot. Utpala, a confidant and one-time servant of Ṭikka, had won the confidence of Sussala and was instigated by his master (Ṭikka) to assassinate the latter.[4] The plot, however, leaked out and Sussala was duly forewarned by one of his own men, but he would not lend any credence to it.[5] The treacherous Utpala soon got an opportunity to carry out his plan and, along with Praśastarāja and Vyāghra, murdered the unsuspecting Sussala within the palace.[6] Many of his faithful followers died offering resistance.[7] The assassins, who had planned their escape carefully, fled to a village close by.[8]

Thus, ended the reign of Sussala who had been on the throne for 16 years and faced so many ups and downs in life. From the very beginning of his career, he had seen stout opposition and reverses, as narrated above. In the end, when he was gradually ridding himself of troubles, his life was cut short by his own treacherous confidants. In the words of Kalhaṇa, 'His reign, indeed, brought sufferings to all—through sorrows, terrors, poverty, death of beloved persons, and other calamities.'[9] What is still worse and pathetic, is that the poor king could not even get a decent cremation, his severed trunk having been carried off by the assassins.[10] He was succeeded by Jayasiṁha, his son, in 1228 A.D.

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 1263-66.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1268-69.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1270.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1278.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1287-90.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1300-15.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1323-28.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1329.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1279.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1440-44.

13

JAYASIṀHA

The deceitful and treacherous murder of Sussala brought Jayasiṁha (who had been confined to prison by his suspicious father) to the throne of Kashmir. He was apprised of his father's assassination in the prison and resolved then and there to avenge it though he had only a few trusted men on his side at the moment.[1] He was conscious of the danger from Bhikshāchara and, in order to strengthen his position he called back Pañchachandra, son of Garga, from Lohara.[2] Bhikshāchara, too, was not slow to sense an opportunity for himself; he marched forth towards Srinagar, but his advance was retarded by heavy snowfall.[3] This vital delay enabled Jayasiṁha to receive support from Pañchachandra.[4] Jayasiṁha was now in the capital and able to gather around him a considerable force together with the support of Sujji and others.[5] Bhikshāchara, however, had not lost hope; he soon rallied his forces and marched towards Srinagar along with his Ḍāmara supporters. Jayasiṁha was now able to call upon the services of Sujji, who defeated Bhikshāchara on the banks of the Gambhīrā and inflicted heavy losses on the invaders.[6] Furthermore, the Ḍāmaras supporting Bhikshāchara were won over by bribes and Bhikshāchara, now left alone, was compelled to retire from the valley.[7]

Though Bhikshāchara was forced to leave the valley, he had not lost heart. There was trouble brewing amongst the supporters of Jayasiṁha. The rivalry between Sujji and Lakshmaka, the chief advisor of Jayasiṁha, compelled the former to leave the court and enter into a conspiracy with Bhikshāchara to depose Jayasiṁha.[1] This gave sufficient encouragement to Bhikshāchara who, relying on the Ḍāmara support, thought of measuring his strength once again with the royal forces, without waiting for Sujji who had left the valley to dispose of the bone-remains of Sussala to the holy waters of the Ganga.[2] The plan of the invasion, however, could not be carried out as, firstly, the Ḍāmaras were held in check by Lakshmaka and, secondly, because of the severity of the winter season.[3] Ṭikka, an avowed enemy of Jayasiṁha, took Bhikshāchara to the fort of Bāṇaśālā which was then under the control of a Khaśa chief, Bhāgika, where from Bhikshāchara tried to incite the Ḍāmaras into revolt.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 1349, 1356-62.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1363-64.
[3] *Ibid.*, II,viii, 1373, 1392.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1394.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1383, 1388, 1402-14.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1497 ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1525.

Meanwhile, Sujji returned back from his mission and was on his way to join Bhikshāchara. Jayasiṁha and Somapāla were now thoroughly alarmed, but through an emissary, they succeeded in persuading Sujji to proceed to Somapāla's territory.[5] This clever move was a severe blow to the ambitious plans of Bhikshāchara. He was attacked by the royal troops led by Udaya. The unfortunate Bhikshāchara was forced to shut himself into the fort of Bāṇaśālā. His end was quite near. The Khaśa chief, who was his main support, also deserted him. The royal troops, unable to capture the fort, were soon reinforced and the Ḍāmaras, too, were lured away by the king's lucre.[6] Bhikshāchara, hemmed in on all sides by traitors and enemies, died fighting bravely after giving a glorious account of his steel.[7] At long last, Jayasiṁha was able to get rid of his greatest rival and enemy, whom even his father had not been able to wipe off in a struggle extending over a period of about 10 years.[8]

Revolt at Lohara.

Jayasiṁha, however, was not destined to have an easy time. Soon after

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 1651-53.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1626, 1664.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1663.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1664-66.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1669-73.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1679-1719.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1735-64.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1704-05.

the episode narrated above, a severe revolt broke out at Lohara.[1] As narrated earlier, Salhaṇa and Loṭhana, the two brothers, had been put behind bars at the stronghold of Lohara by Sussala.[2] The treacherous officers of the castle, finding Jayasiṁha engaged in wars with Bhikshāchara, freed Loṭhana, Salhaṇa having died in the meantime and crowned him king. The officers also handed over the vast treasures secreted at the castle to Loṭhana. Preman, who was loyal to Jayasiṁha, offered some opposition, but failed miserably.

When Jayasiṁha learnt the details of the happenings at Lohara through a trusted letter-carrier,[3] he tried to take effective steps to check the uprising from taking a serious turn. He promptly dispatched Rilhaṇa, Udaya and Lulla to deal with the uprising.[4] It was a diplomatic move as the king thought that by virtue of their being born at Lohara both Lulla and Udaya would win over the recalcitrant elements to his side. At the same time, he had sent Rilhaṇa as an advance party for succour and himself proceeded along with his high officers towards Lohara. In the meantime, the rebel forces under Loṭhana, were also reinforced by the arrival of his son-in-law, Śūra, along with his forces.[5] From the king's side help was sought from Somapāla who was related to Jayasiṁha, but Somapāla and Sujji declared to offer their help to the highest bidder.[6] Subsequently, after Sujji and Somapāla had gone over to the side of the rebels, the royal troops, led by Lakshamaka had to beat a retreat to a village called Vanikāvāsa.[7] There, Lakshmaka was surprised in a night attack led by the wily Sujji and taken prisoner along with Lulla and others.[8] Jayasiṁha had to bear a heavy loss in men and material and the expedition proved a disastrous failure.[9]

Subsequent Developments.

Since the subsequent affairs at Lohara and its history had a deep and far-reaching effect on the history of the valley, these may be summarily noted here. Jayasiṁha was unable to crush the rebellion at Lohara and Loṭhana now began to behave as an independent ruler of Lohara. Considerable wealth, stored there from the days of Sussala, had fallen into his hands and his position was somewhat secure. Unfortunately, within a month of his sensational victory against the royal troops, he lost his beloved wife Mallā and his dear son, Dilha, and these bereavements upset him immensely.[1] Sujji, whom Loṭhana had raised to the office of the chief minister, tried his best to console him and look after his interests. Jayasiṁha, in the meantime, purchased the freedom of the captive Lakshmaka by paying a huge sum of 36 lakhs of *dīnnāras*.[2] As the money came in his hands, Sujji arranged the marriage of Loṭhana (to be solemnised later) with the daughter of Padmaratha, ruler of Kāliñjara.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 1794-96.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 519.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1795-1811, 1814-31.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1836, 43.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1844-45.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1851, 54-61.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1873-77.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1879-99.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1904-06.

Jayasiṁha, too, did not sit idle; he dispatched the faithful Udaya to Lohara and the latter was able to create some dissension in the ranks of Loṭhana and win over through bribes some influential persons who were, obviously, jealous of Sujji.[4] Amongst them was Māṇika;[5] Jayasiṁha plotted to overthrow Loṭhana and place Mallārjuna, a son of Sussala, on the throne and sent a secret missive to this effect to his allies at Lohara.[6] But Loṭhana came to know of the plot and soon cast Mallārjuna into prison along with others.[7]

A lull followed for a few months and Loṭhana, thinking that he was now secure, sent back Śūra, his son-in-law, who had come to Lohara to help him.[8] Loṭhana now proceeded to Darpitapura to solemnize the proposed marriage with the daughter of Padmaratha.[9] The opportunity was too good to be lost. Māṇika, who soon succeeded in freeing himself and Mallārjuna, had the latter seated on the throne of Lohara.[10] The rebels,

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 1914-16.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1918.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 915, 1923.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1928-31.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1930.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1933-34.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1935-36.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1938.
9. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1939-40.
10. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1941.

however, were wise enough not to fall in with the overture of Jayasiṁha for fear of a general uprising against them and sought help from the neighbouring Ṭhākurs who were able to ward off the attempts of Jayasiṁha's men from entering the castle, for Māṇika was suspicious of the king's designs and treated him rather contemptuously.[1]

Mallārjuna.

While Loṭhana was lamenting the loss of Lohara and the vast treasures therein, Mallārjuna, a pleasure-seeking youth, found ample scope and funds to squander away on dancers and actors, courtesans and women of easy virtue, and rogues and parasites.[2] Jayasiṁha, who had been watching the developments with keen interest, planned a secret attack on Lohara through Chitraratha.[3] Though Chitraratha was easily repulsed in his first attempt, reinforcements arrived and Mallārjuna was compelled to sue for peace and agreed to pay the requisite tribute to Chitraratha through the mediation of his mother.[4] Jayasiṁha, however, was not gratified with the presents and had other plans in his mind.[5]

Mallārjuna, on the other hand, feeling secure again started squandering the accumulated treasures at Lohara on the least desirable persons who were out to fleece him dry.[6] Jayasiṁha now tried to win over Sujji to his side, for an alliance between the latter and Mallārjuna would not have suited his plans.[7] Lakshmaka, who was entrusted with this task, graciously offered every high office to Sujji except that of the chief justice. But these did not satisfy him. At last, when Somapāla had come to pay Lakshmaka a visit, he offered through the latter even his 'hair-braid' or a garland from his head, which was enough to gratify Sujji.[8] A few courtiers, who were opposed to Sujji, were banished while other meekly acquiesced to this change when the king himself honoured him by receiving him in person.[9]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 1942, 1946.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1948, 1962.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1963.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1963-70.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1973.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1977.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1980.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1981-84. See also Stein's note on 1982-84.

[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1985-86.

Loṭhana, in the meanwhile, was not sitting idle at Bappanīla. Helped by some Ṭhākurs, he repeatedly led incursions into the Lohara territory, looted the bazars, carried away horses belonging to Mallārjuna and also destroyed some of his outposts.[1] Ultimately, Mallārjuna was compelled to make peace with him through the mediation of Koshṭheśvara and the three together planned to invade the territories of Jayasiṁha.[2] Koshṭheśvara and Loṭhana had the support of some Ḍāmaras also but before the Ḍāmaras and the rebels could effect a union, Jayasiṁha fell upon them and overpowered their leader.[3] Unfortunately for him, Lakshamaka, the lord-chamberlain died in the meantime, and Jayasiṁha could not press home his advantage.[4]

The confederacy of the rebels, too, did not fare better. While Koshṭheśvara, Loṭhana and Mallārjuna were away from Lohara, trouble broke out there.[5] Mallārjuna had treacherously slain Udayana, a confidant of Koshṭheśvara and Loṭhana, and this breach of faith led the latter two to march against Mallārjuna and defeat him.[6] Though conciliated by Mallārjuna, Koshṭheśvara soon fell out with the former and there were frequent clashes between them, thus undermining their own strength against Jayasiṁha.[7] The climax was reached in this game of intrigues and counter-intrigues when Mallārjuna, suspecting his mainstay and father-in-law, Māṇika, of a liaison with his mother, murdered him; on the other hand, Jayasiṁha won over Koshṭheśvara to his own side.[8] Being sure of himself, Jayasiṁha now sent Sujji to capture Lohara.[9] Koshṭheśvara also joined in the attack and carried away Mallārjuna's horses in a surprise raid. Mallārjuna was now compelled to flee with sufficient treasures towards Avanāha. He was, however, deprived of the major portion of his wealth by bandits and robbers on the way.[10] Hardly a young man

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 1989-91.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1994-96.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1992, 1997-98.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1999 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2003 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1850, 2004-07.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2008-14.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2015-19.
9. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2020.
10. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2021-23.

of 18 he exhibited neither courage nor ability and lost his throne and stronghold in 1132 A.D.[1] Jayasiṁha was, at last, able to assert his authority over Lohara and appointed Harshaṭa as governor of that place with Sujji remaining there for a while to ensure peace and stability in those regions.[2]

Sujji, however, was unfortunate in losing the favours of the king. The vicious atmosphere at the court poisoned the ears of Jayasiṁha against him and his earlier enemies, Dhanya and Udaya were now enjoying the confidence of the king.[3] In the meantime, Sañjapāla was won over to the king's side and Sujji was now clearly afraid of him for his personal safety.[4] Jayasiṁha, too, unable to bear Sujji any longer, lured Sañjapāla to be the executioner of Sujji.[5] Differences with Sujji over punishments and appointments to high posts further aggravated the king's annoyance.[6] Sujji now tried to win over Sañjapāla to his side but it was only a surface-friendship.[7] Ultimately, Kularāja was entrusted to finish off Sujj. The former gained admission to the latter's chamber with two accomplices and murdered him.[8] Similar fate awaited his partisans, sympathisers and kinsmen who were later disposed of by king's men.[9] As a reward for removing Sujji from the active scene for ever, the king conferred upon Sañjapāla the post of the commander-in-chief and Kularāja was made the city-prefect.[10] Some of those who had been inimical to the king and were siding Mallārjuna, returned to the court, sued for and won the king's favour.[11]

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[1] *R,T.*, II, viii, 2024.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2029-31.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2031-44.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2070, 2078.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2085.

[6] *Ibid* , II, viii, 2089-90, 2097. It appears that Sujji wanted Ulhaṇa to be appointed the lord of the gate ; for after his murder Ulhaṇa, too, was finished off by Sañjapāla and Rilhaṇa (*Ibid.*, II, viii, 2163-66).

[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2091 ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2115-40.

[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2163-89

[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2190.

[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2191.

Fresh Attempt by Koshṭheśvara and Fall of Mallārjuna.

Koshṭheśvara, the Lavanya chief, was still an active figure against the king. He encouraged Loṭhana to attack Hāḍigrāma.[1] But as the intrigue leaked out to the king, Koshṭheśvara, prudently made excuses with Loṭhana and made peace with Jayasiṁha.[2] The king, without showing his overt hand, tried to get Koshṭheśvara murdered, but the latter was clever enough to sense the design and prepared to fight it out with the royal forces.[3] Koshṭheśvara was, however, routed and fled from the valley.[4]

Koshṭheśvara met Mallārjuna at Kurukshetra and the two formed a league against the king.[5] The rebels marched into the valley, chose a hilly fort surrounded by dense forests as their headquarters, and started enlisting men who were friendly to them.[6] Jayasiṁha was quick to take action and the royal forces surrounded the rebels from all sides, the siege lasting several months.[7] Later on, Mallārjuna, who had caused considerable harassment to the king and was seeking shelter hither and thither, was providentially taken into custody by one of the king's trusted men at Sāvarṇika.[8] Jayasiṁha promptly dispatched Udaya to bring him to the capital and the rebel was put behind bars at Navamaṭha.[9] Koshṭheśvara was also wounded while offering resistance, and cast into prison where he soon breathed his last.[10] Having thus gained a respite from internal feuds and recalcitrant elements, Jayasiṁha appointed Udaya as the lord of the gate and Śṛiṅgāra as the prime minister, obviously as rewards for their services as help.[11]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii,2195-96.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2197.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2199-2200.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2212-14.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2219-20.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2260 ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2263.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2275-78.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2281-82, 2309-10.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2314, 2340.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2354, 2360,

Relations with Contemporary Chieftains and Rulers.

The internal troubles related above had considerably undermined the prestige and authority of the Kashmir king and vassals in distant parts had started behaving in an independent manner. Jayasiṁha was quick to seize the opportunities that came his way to successfully interfere into their affairs. He took up the cause of Gulhaṇa and installed him as the ruler of Vallāpura after removing Vikramarāja from that office.[1] According to Kalhaṇa, the king, likewise, helped men of his own choice in securing such fiefs after dispossessing those whom he did not trust, but unfortunately details of such important events have been left out by him.[2]

Jayasiṁha also established friendly relations with the most powerful ruler of northern India, the Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra (1114-54 A D.). The latter is said to have sent Suhala as his ambassador to the court of Jayasiṁha.[3] The friendly relations between the two rulers seem to have been known to the author of *Prākṛita-paiṅgalam* who furnishes a long list of kingdoms conquered by Govindachandra, but does not include Kashmir in it.[4] Similarly, Śilāhāra Aparāditya of Koṅkaṇa sent Tejakaṇṭha as his ambassador to Kashmir during his (Jayasiṁha's) reign.[5]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 2452; Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 101.

[2] *R.T.*, II, viii, 2452.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2453; Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 53, 101.

[4] The list includes the kings of Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Telaṅga, Mahārāshṭra, Saurāshṭra, Champāraṇa. Nepāla, Bhoṭa, Chīna, Lohāvara (Lahore), Oḍra and Mālava (cf. *Struggle for Empire*, p. 53)

[5] *R.T.*, II, viii, 2453 (Stein's note); *Struggle for Empire*, p. 101. Aparāditya of Silahāra family of Koṅkaṇa is better known by the name of Aparārka, who was more of a scholar than a ruler. Though he is well-known for his commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, he also wrote another commentary on *Nyāyasāra* of Bhāsarvajña (Sastri, K.A N., *H.S.I.*, pp. 352, 358 59). Friendly relations between the Śilāhāra ruler and Jayasiṁha would indirectly attest to some sort of liaison between the two for purposes other than political; and it will be justified to hazard the view that it was more on the literary and religious fronts, for Kashmir and the South were both active zones of Śaivism and other branches of Hindu philosophy.

Intervention into the Darad Affairs.

Jayasiṁha had to intervene in the affairs of the Darad country where King Yaśodhara had died and his minister, Viḍḍasīha, after gaining the favour of the widowed queen, usurped all powers.[1] Yaśodhara had left two minor sons and Viḍḍasīha pretended to be the guardian of the elder one though, in reality his intentions were to do away with the child.[2] But another minister, Paryuka, took up the cause of the other son and soon there was a rivalry between the two for power.[3] The king (Jayasiṁha), however, disregarded Śañjapāla and acting on the advice of Śriṅgāra, who was friendly with Paryuka, sent the former's younger brother to deal with the situation.[4] The latter, however, was young in age and experience, and could not deal effectively with the situation and returned back with failure.[5] Viḍḍasīha proved cleverer and, foreseeing trouble ahead, patched up his differences with Paryuka.[6] Further, in order to create a retaliatory diversion, he entered into league with Loṭhana, who was a pretender to the Kashmir throne, and, after a period of inactivity, was making preparations for another bid for the same.[7]

Fresh Attempt by Loṭhana.

Loṭhana, as noted above, had been spending his days with Śūra, his father-in-law and Lord of Bahusthala, and was once more seized with a desire to try conclusions with Jayasiṁha.[8] He soon entered into an alliance with other refractory elements including the troublesome Ḍāmaras, Alaṅkārachakra, Vigraharāja and other royal descendants.[9] It appears that Jayasiṁha at first took scant notice of these troubles gathering around him but, later, dispatched Udaya, who soon forced the rebel forces to seek refuge in the fort of Śiraḥśila in the Kṛishṇagaṅgā valley.[10]

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 2456, 2469.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2467-58.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2459-61.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2469.
7. *Ibid*, II, viii, 2481, 2482-83, 2488.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2481-83.
9. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2483-89.
10. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2491-92.

Udaya, however, could not locate Alaṅkāra who was wily enough to give any inkling of his movements and the trouble soon spread to other regions where rebellious elements pillaged and burnt villages in spite of action from the king's side.[1] The uprising soon assumed abnormal proportions and some ministers even advocated negotiations with the rebels to gain time, but the king now entrusted the task of quelling it to Dhanya.[2] The latter occupied Tilagrama and Udaya sealed off 'routes at the back' to avoid any surprise attacks.[3] Forests were cleared off and supplies replenished while forced labour had to be resorted to meet the situation.[4] But the snows and the mountainous terrain dispirited the royal forces and the king began to doubt the wisdom of his enterprise.[5]

The situation in the camp of the rebels, too, was not very optimistic; Loṭhana had been forced to flee and seek shelter with Alaṅkārachakra but the latter was not favourably disposed towards him.[6] The royalists, however, were unaware of their troubles and failed to take advantage of it; even Dhanya was now pessimistic and was joined by other ministers in advising the king to conclude peace with the rebels.[7] But the king did not think it practicable and ordered a siege of the rebel's stronghold.[8] Dhanya soon led an attack on the castle. Though he was unable to capture it, the siege considerably demoralized the rebel-ranks whose water and edible supply lines were seriously affected.[9] There were three pretenders to the throne among the rebels—Loṭhana, considered too old for the crown, Vigraharāja, son of a concubine, and Bhoja, son of Salhaṇa.[10] Alaṅkārachakra was favourably inclined towards Bhoja and more concerned about him.[11] The observant Bhoja was keenly alive to the intrigues within the ranks of the rebels and their women-folk, and persuaded Alaṅkārachakra to allow him to sneak away to some other place.[1] Accompanied by the Ḍāmara Kshemarāja, he tried to get away but was unable to escape to safety and obliged to return back.[2] With supplies running short, there was no hope and Alaṅkārachakra was compelled to sue for peace and surrendered Loṭhana and Vigraharāja to the king, keeping Bhoja in hiding.[3] The two were delivered to Dhanya and were duly taken in the latter's protective custody to be presented before the king.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 2493-98.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2499-2500.
[3] *Ibid* , II, viii, 2507.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2509-16.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2520-21.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2525-35.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2542.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2543-50.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2552-65.
[10] *Ibid* , II, viii, 2569.
[11] *Ibid.*

Another Attempt at Rebellion by Bhoja.

Meanwhile, Bhoja who had sought shelter in a deserted Ḍāmara house, was unaware of the developments and the fate of Loṭhana and Vigraharāja.[5] But he soon got an inkling of the events and was concerned about his own safety.[6] While the king was trying to induce the Ḍāmara chief to hand over Bhoja to him, the latter managed to enlist the support of a disgruntled royal officer, Rājavadana to his side.[7] Alaṅkārachakra, too, was disinclined to hand over Bhoja to the king, in spite of several inducements by Jayasiṁha.[8] But sensing that he could no more count on Alaṅkārachakra, Bhoja made a bold bid and escaped from his enforced confinement.[9]

After undergoing severe hardships and unable to face his own kinsmen as well as those of Loṭhana and Vigraharāja, Bhoja reached the Darad country where the commander of the Dugdhaghāta fort received him hospitably.[10] Viḍḍasīha, the ruler of the Darads, too, gave him a royal reception and promised support with men and material for his cause.[11]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 2573 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2584-93.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2601.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2629 ff, 2641-60.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2670.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2671-76.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2671, 2695-98.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii 2699-2701. Though the verse (2701) is doubtfully restored, its purport is clear.

[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2704-05.

[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2707-15.

[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2716-17.

Meanwhile, Rājavadana collected considerable armed strength by enlisting herdsmen, forest-dwellers and even robbers in his ranks.[1] The Ḍāmaras, ever ready for pillage and plunder, again rose in open revolt. Their leaders, Trillaka and Jayarāja, also joined the rebels and even induced the prefect of Devasarasa to join hands with them.[2]

Thinking that the time was ripe for another effort to secure the throne for Bhoja, Viḍḍasīha, invited a number of Mlechchha chieftains of northern and north-eastern regions of the valley, famous for their horsemenship, for help.[3] Bhoja was also joined by many refractory chiefs from all sides and the ranks of the rebels were further increased in number; they were joined by Jayachandra, son of Gargachandra, and his supporters.[4] He also received the offer of Rājavadana, an influential and discontented officer of Jayasiṁha, to raise a rebellion in his favour.

Having thus gained considerable strength and following, Bhoja, accompanied by the Darad ruler, who had espoused his cause, and the allied Mlechchha chiefs made another attempt for the capture of the valley.[5] Their only opposition lay in the person of the loyal Shashṭhachandra, who refused to be cowed down with the numerical superiority of the rebel's soldiers.[6] The rebel forces encamped at Samudradhārā, a place not yet properly identified, and Rājavadana was placed in command of the troops.[7] The king, realising the precarious position of Shashṭhachandra, sent Udaya and Dhanya to his help with the bulk of his army, retaining only a small force with him.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 2722-27.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2728-32.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2761-64. The reference to Mlechchhas is a clear indication to the conversion of the central Asian tribes from Buddhism to Islam as inferred by Stein (note on 2762-64). The term *Vālukāmbodheh*, however, refers to the southern fringes of the cold and extensive Gobi deserts and the regions of Gilgit, Skardu and Ladakh within the Indian frontiers and the areas around Khotan and Yarkand beyond. Uttara Kuru is one of the seven or five *dvīpas* referred to both in the *Purāṇas* and the Buddhist literature (cf., Sircar, D. C., *G. A. M. I.*, pp. 8-9 and note).

[4] The Kīras dwelt both the eastern parts of the old Kashmiri territories between the Chenab and Kangra and also in the adjoining eastern region. *R. T.*, II, viii, 2765-67, cf., Stein's note on 2767.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, p. 128; II, viii, 2775-82.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2783.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2784-85.

While the position of the royalists was none too secure in the north, another positive threat was posed in the south by Loṭhaka (or Loṭhana), who had been furnished with ample resources by Trillaka, and the Ḍāmaras.[2] Loṭhaka fell upon Śūrapura but Piñchadeva, the royal commander-in-charge of that watch-station, though hopelessly outnumbered and ill-equipped, beat back his repeated attacks.[3] Failing to capture Śūrapura, Loṭhaka, who had joined Trillaka, planned an attack on Padmapura, but was persuaded by Trillaka not to do so.[4] Considering the threat from Loṭhaka to be far more potent, the king was forced to recall Rilhaṇa (who had gone against Chatushka on another front) and sent him to deal with Loṭhaka.[5] After he had brushed aside the opposition of the people of Śamālā, the brave Rilhaṇa was attacked by Loṭhaka near Kalyāṇapura from the front and by Chatushka from behind.[6] The rebels gained some initial success, but Rilhaṇa beat them back and forced them to seek shelter in the adjoining forests.[7] Rilhaṇa was soon joined by Sañjapāla together with a fresh contingent from the king and the situation was redeemed.[8]

This defeat of Loṭhaka at the hands of the royalists under Rilhaṇa was a turning-point in the tide of events as the rebels thenceforth suffered a series of reverses on all fronts. Chatushka was defeated by Udaya in a severe engagement while the combined forces of the Darads and the Turushkas (Mlechchhas) were routed by Shashṭhachandra, Dhanya and Udaya; the defeat of the allies of Bhoja was thus complete.[9] This was followed by rivalry and disunity in the rebel camp.[10] Even Viḍḍasīha had a mind to hand over Bhoja to the king but, fortunately for Bhoja, Alaṅkārachakra intervened and the pretender was delivered to him after

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 2785, 88-91.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2799 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2802-05.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2806-08.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2810.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2811-30.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2831-38.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2839-40.
9. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2841-51.
10. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2857 ff.

much hesitation.[1] In view of his failing health, Viḍḍasīha sued for peace and returned to his own country where he died after some time.[2] Rājavadana, too, concluded peace with Udaya and Dhanya on that very day. On the other front, Rilhaṇa defeated both Loshṭhaka and Chatushka in some engagements and compelled the former to retire to his own land while the latter sought refuge with Trillaka. Thus the uprising seemed to be coming to an end.[3]

Though the severe threat to Jayasiṁha had passed off, his troubles were not yet over. Alaṅkārachakra, Jayānandavāḍa and other Ḍāmaras from Kramarājya took up the cause of Bhoja and raised a fresh revolt.[4] The rebels were, however, soon scattered by the royal forces under Alaṅkāra (not to be confused with the rebel namesake), and Jayānandavāḍa was killed in the encounter.[5] Bhoja sought refuge at Dinnāgrāma and tried to establish contact with Alaṅkārachakra at Hāyāśrama. But Udaya got news of this, and after employing a successful ruse, beat them off and Bhoja had to again seek shelter at Dinnāgrāma.[6] Unfortunately for the king, Udaya, who had acquitted himself so brilliantly on the king's side, was incapacitated by a serious eye disease and Shashṭhachandra, the most faithful and able general, died about this time.[7] Jayasiṁha was now perturbed about the future course of events; he neither wished that Bhoja, after being bereft of his erstwhile supporters, should fall into league with more powerful inimical elements, nor should he (Bhoja) escape to some place where he (Jayasiṁha) could not lay hands on him.[8] He wished to secure Bhoja either through war or diplomacy, and instructed Dhanya to make vigorous efforts in that direction.[9]

What followed next is a tale of intrigues and counter intrigues in which Nāga, Rājavadana and other Ḍāmara supporters of Bhoja on the one hand and Dhanya and other ministers of the king on the other played important roles.[1] The king was, however, able to crush the fresh uprising in the north both by diplomacy and a show of arms.

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[1] *R. T.*, II, viii, 2871-99.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2901-05.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2906-09, 2915.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2923-24.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2925-29.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2933-42, 2951.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2952-58.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2959-60.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2960-61.

Bhoja, by now, seems to have lost all hope of success against Jayasiṁha. But it was also difficult for him to get out of the clutches of his supporters and conclude peace with the king.[2] About this time, the advice of a Brāhmaṇa had a deep impression on the mind of Bhoja and the latter fully realized the futility of continuing hostilities any further.[3] His mind was made up and thenceforth he started on a course of secret overtures to Jayasiṁha for a dignified surrender.[4]

An exchange of secret missives between the two followed and Bhoja asked for the mediation of Queen Kalhaṇikā.[5] The king agreed and dispatched her with Dhanya and other ministers.[6] Since the negotiations were carried on secretly, the Ḍāmaras, who had been watching the developments threw in their lot with Bhoja.[7] Trillaka and Chatushka were still for the continuation of the revolt, the latter even going to the extent of invading Śamālā.[8] Though the Ḍāmaras from Nīlāśva, Lohara, Devasarasa, Holaḍā and several other places rallied round Bhoja, his mind was set on peace.[9] The eventful meeting was to take place at Tāramūla where the queen stayed while Dhanya and Rilhaṇa proceeded to Pāñchigrāma and both sides were encamped on either bank of the Kahmil river.[10] Rājavadana and others were bent on treachery, but Bhoja was firm and accommodating during the negotiations.[11] At long last, Bhoja arrived at the royal camp, was accorded a respectful welcome by Dhanya and was subsequently received affectionately by the queen.[12] The followers of

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 2962-3000.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3010-17.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3018-29.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3040-54.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3042-63.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3097.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3110-11.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3113.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3115-17.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3124-25 (Stein's note).
[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3127-36, 3147.
[12] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3161-65, 3171, 3179-80,

Bhoja were chagrined and had to disperse disappointed.[1] The king received Bhoja with a great show of cordiality and thus peace was concluded between the two in 1145 A. D.[2]

Jayasiṁha now turned his attention towards the rest of the refractory elements who had been responsible for much of his troubles.[3] Trillaka, one of the principal supporters of Bhoja, was, after a hard-fought encounter, worsted at Vijayakshetra and compelled to sue for peace and pardon.[4] Thereafter the king appointed his minor son, Gulhaṇa, as the ruler of Lohara under the guardianship of his mother Raḍḍā Devī.[5]

Rājavadana, however, continued to create trouble.[6] He was supported by Loshṭhaka but the latter was soon captured by Jayachandra, brother of the illustrious Shashṭhachandra.[7] After a series of reverses at the hands of royal forces, Rājavadana and many of his supporters were either executed or left to die in poverty and disgrace.[8]

The Peaceful Years.

The following four or five years of the reign of Jayasiṁha were devoid of any major political troubles and spent in comparative ease. Gulhaṇa, his eldest son, had been posted at Lohara, as noted above, and Gayāpāla, son of the valiant Sañjapāla, was placed at the head of the armed forces.[9]

The blessings of peace are manifest in the numerous acts of charity, piety and considerable building activities on the part of the king, his queens and the high officers of the state.[10] At the same time, these years also witnessed several administrative reforms at the instance of Dhanya, who had been raised to the office of the prefect of the city (*Nagarādhikṛita*).[11] It appears that, during the tumultuous days of the struggle for the crown

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 3170, 3178.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3179, 3208-53, 3279.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3278.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3280-97, 3300.
5. *Ibid* , II, viii, 3301-04.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3305 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3306-07.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3310-15.
9. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3322.
10. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3316-21, 3343-69.
11. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3334.

and revolts of the refractory elements, the economy of the valley had been hit very hard.[1] Dhanya reintroduced 'the use of cash' (*dīnnāravyavahāra*) in all 'commercial transactions' and seems to have discouraged barter system in the large-scale sale and purchase of commodities.[2] He also tried to raise the standard of morality in the valley by imposing fines on persons who were found guilty of licentious habits and his hand seems to have fallen rather heavily on dancing girls and women of easy virtue as well.[3] By setting up his personal example of honesty and economy, he encouraged the officers of the state to infuse amongst the masses a sense of social security and confidence.[4]

Jayasiṁha had several sons and daughters.[5] The sons are stated to have been virtuous and intelligent while the daughters were given in marriage to different chiefs, no doubt with a view to ensure internal peace and amity.[6] The king also helped his sons-in-law in their wars against hostile elements and maintained cordial relations with them through frequent exchanges of presents.[7]

Kalhaṇa's narrative ends at this stage when Jayasiṁha had ruled for 22 years.[10] According to Jonarāja, he ruled for another five years during which period he undertook a successful expedition against an unknown Muslim (Turushka, Yavana) ruler.[8] He was assisted in this venture by Malla, the ruler of Trigarta, and, as Jonarāja puts it, that chief was largely responsible for the defeat and surrender of the Muslim (Yavana) king to Jayasiṁha.[9]

Jayasiṁha's rule came to an end in 1154-55 A. D. After the sad and dismal extinction of the Shāhis, scholars and artists from various parts of north-western and northern India had sought refuge in Kashmir and

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1. *R.T.*, II, viii, 3334-35.
2. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3335.
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3336-38.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3339, 3341.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3371 ff., 3380.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3393-94.
7. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3396-97.
8. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3404.
9. *R.T.*, (Jonarāja), verses, 30-34.
10. *Ibid.*, verse, 32 ff.

received his liberal patronage.[1] Though a major portion of his reign of 27 years was full of wars and strifes, it was blessed with prosperity, security and internal peace towards the closing years of his reign.

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 3343, 3354; cf. also I, p. 129.

14

KASHMIR AFTER JAYASIṀHA

The death of Jayasiṁha in 1154-55 A. D. has been taken by scholars to mark the end of the glorious days of Hindu rule over Kashmir.[1] The gradual process of decline and disintegration that started with the reign of his immediate successor, Paramāṇuka, continued for about two centuries and the valley was governed mostly by weaklings.[2] As has been pointed out earlier, Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* comes to an abrupt end in *c.* 1148-50 A.D., and for the subsequent period, one has to depend on the account of Jonarāja, another erudite chronicler, who composed his narrative—also known as *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (*Dvitīya*)—during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, who, for his accomplishments, is regarded as the Akbar of Kashmir.[3]

Prior to discussing the reign of Paramāṇuka, it would be profitable to briefly note the prevailing political conditions of northern India, particularly the north-west. While the principal Hindu powers like the Chaulukyas, Chāhamānas and the Gāhaḍavālas were vying amongst themselves for paramountcy, dark and portentous clouds were gathering on the north-west. Islamic states on the Indian borderland had fully studied the inherent weaknesses of the neighbouring Hindu rulers and were only too eager to undertake adventurist as well as expansionist expeditions into the Indian subcontinent. As mentioned earlier, Jayasiṁha maintained friendly relations with many Indian rulers, particularly the Gāhaḍavālas which must have deterred the *Mlechchhas* (Muslims) from leading any expedition into the valley.[4] It does credit to his political foresight and wisdom that he did so; but, unfortunately, there was a string of weaklings who succeeded him one after the other and their political vision was confined only to maintaining themselves on the throne. The Muslim rulers on the borderlands had already made themselves masters of the neighbouring areas, particularly in the Ṭakka country and their growing influence, as noted by Kalhaṇa, must have been realized by Jayasiṁha.[1] He must have also recalled to his mind the mercenary character of the Turushkas who had aided Bhikshāchara in his wars and struggles against Sussala.[2] But his weak successors failed to realize this danger that lurked on their borders and had, therefore, to pay a heavy price.

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[1] Majumdar, R. C.. *Struggle for Empire*, p. 101.

[2] Bamzai, P.N.K., *History of Kashmir*, pp. 153-62.

[3] *R.T.*, (Jonaraja), 10; cf. Kalhaṇa, *R.T.*,I, Intro. p. 130 ff.

[4] Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 101.

Paramāṇuka (1154-64 A.D.[3]).

Jayasiṁha was succeeded by his son, Paramāṇuka or Parmāṇḍi. The epigraphs mention him as Paramāṇḍadeva while the coins record his name as Paramadeva or Paradeva.[4] He was born of Queen Guṇalekhā.[5] According to the testimony of Jonarāja, Paramāṇuka was a weakling and, since he had succeeded to the throne by the popular choice of his ministers, he was, by force of circumstances, a puppet in their hands.[6] According to Jonarāja, he lacked interest in administrative affairs and failed to discharge faithfully his obligations to his subjects. His main interest was accumulation of wealth in which he was aided and abetted by his ministers.[7] Later, however, his two crafty ministers. Prayāga and Janaka by name, deprived him of most of his riches by playing upon his credulity and the fear of the supernatural.[8]

The state of affairs prevailing in the valley was far from happy. Occasions and circumstances demanded a strong and efficacious rule, a well-trained army and cultivation of friendly ties and relations with the neighbouring states. Instead, the Kashmir throne was occupied by a weakling who was quite unmindful of the odds staked against his kingdom. As a natural corollary, several chieftains, according to Muslim chroniclers, assumed independent status, prominent among them being those of Pakhli, Kashtawar, Rajauri, Jammu and the ruler on the Kashmir-Tibet border.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, II, viii, 3346-48.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 885-86.

[3] The last date of Jayasiṁha, according to our calculations, comes to 1154 A. D., though it is generally held to be 1155 A.D. (Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 101).

[4] In the Tapar inscription dated 1157 A.D. he is referred to as Paramāṇḍadeva. Tapar is a village situated on Srinagar-Baramula road and the inscription is housed in the Sir Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. *R.T.*, II, viii, 1608; *R.T.*, (Jonarāja) p. 52; *J.A.S.B.*, 1879, p. 281; Cunningham, A., *C.M.I.*, p. 46; Lallanji Gopal, *E. M. C. T.N. I.*, pp. 28,64.

[5] *R.T.*, II, viii, 1608.

[6] Dutta, J.C., *Kings of Kashmir*, III, p. 5 ff.

[7] *R.T.*, (J), 40.

[8] *Ibid.*, 41-47.

Paramāṇuka had a short reign of about 10 uneventful years and died in 1164 A.D. Jonarāja, unfortunately, does not furnish any details of his reign.[2]

Vantideva (*c* 1164-71 A.D.).

Paramāṇuka was succeeded by his son, Vantideva, also known as Varttideva. Vantideva is the short form of Avantideva as is evident from the coins bearing the latter form of the legend.[3] One is informed by Jonarāja that, after his demise, the elite and the able citizens of the country chose Bopadeva as their king.[4] The relationship, if any, between Vantideva and his successor, Bopadeva, is not known.[5] It is generally, therefore, held that the second Lohara dynasty came to an end with Vantideva. Jonarāja devotes only one verse to Vantideva and there is no other source of information which may throw light on his reign.[6]

Thus, the short and uneventful reign of Vantideva ended in 1171 A.D. There is no indication of any important activity during his reign as the king seems to have been content with maintaining himself on the throne without, apparently, exerting himself in administrative affairs.

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1. *Waqiyat-i-Kashmir*, p. 24; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, p. 153.
2. The lack of details in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja is easily understandable for he composed his chronicle much later under the patronage of a Muslim ruler and, very possibly, had little access to works of historical nature dealing with the history of the period under discussion.
3. Cunningham, A., *C.M.I.*, p. 46; Lallanji Gopal, *E.M.C.T.N.I.*, pp. 28, 64.
4. *R.T.*, (J.), 49-50.
5. Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 101.
6. *R.T.*, (J.), 49.

Vopyadeva (*c* 1171-80 A. D.).

As noted above, with the end of the Lohara dynasty, the crown of the valley passed on to Vopyadeva or Vuppadeva whose name has been variously spelt as Bopadeva and Vuppedeva also.[1] Relying on the reading of Rodgers on the coin mentioned above, Kaul has preferred the emendation Vuppedeva against Bopadeva of Jonarāja while Ganguly is in favour of Vuppadeva.[2] Several possibilities may be pointed out for the selection of Bopadeva as Vantideva's successor; in the first place, it is admissible that Vantideva died without leaving a son and successor and the officials as well as respectable citizens of the state and the capital chose Bopadeva for the throne from amongst many contenders belonging to the royal family. Secondly, it is also permissible to infer that Vantideva had many sons out of whom Bopadeva was selected. Thirdly, it is also likely that Bopadeva came of some co-lateral branch and had managed to win over the officials of the state and influential persons amongst the people to his side with the result that he was able to brush aside the legal and lawful claims of any son or sons of Vantideva. Lastly, it is also quite possible that he may not have been related in any way to the preceding royal family and may have been one of the officials who was selected by the courtiers. Unfortunately, there is an utter lack of pertinent information on this important point and the problem may remain unsolved till some fresh material is available. Though Jonarāja devotes six verses in his work to him, yet there is hardly any information of political significance pertaining to his reign.[3] The king-elect, according to him, was mentally deficient, his chief hobby being a study of stones and pebbles, precious or otherwise.[4] This is also corroborated by Hasan and it appears that his childish experiments soon passed into legends with which both Jonarāja and Hasan show their acquaintance.[5] Since Jonarāja has used the connotations *mūḍha* (a dunce) and *mūrkha* (a fool) for him, it may be surmised that there was no improvement in the conditions prevailing in the country and these further deteriorated during his reign.[1]

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[1] Majumdar, R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 101; *R.T.*, (J.), 50; *J.A.S.B.*, 1879, pp. 278, 281.

[2] *Ibid.*, (J.), Edited by S. N. Kaul, p. 53, fn. 6; Majumdar R.C., *Struggle for Empire*, p. 101.

[3] *R.T.*, (J.), 50-55.

[4] *R.T.*, (J.), 50-55.

[5] *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, p. 154.

It is obvious that the selection of Vopyadeva as a ruler was not based on his qualities of head or heart. What then could have been the reasons behind his selection? The very fact that he was selected for the throne proves that there were many candidates for the crown. It appears that a powerful junta comprised of highly placed officials and ministers with the backing of influential persons in the country wanted to keep the real power or authority in its own hands so as to safeguard its own selfish interests and selected Vopyadeva—a mentally deficient puppet—for the throne. This surmise is strengthened by the fact that immediately after him, the powerful Ḍāmaras were able to instal Jassaka, a brother of Vopyadeva, on the throne of Kashmir as their nominee.[2]

Jassaka (*c* 1181-99 A.D.).

Vopyadeva was followed by his younger brother, Jassaka, on the throne.[3] In view of the explicit statement of Jonarāja about the relationship between the two, it is not possible to treat them as father and son as has been taken by the author of *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi.*[4] Jassaka (Skt. Yaśaska), it appears from the narrative of Jonarāja, was hesitant and disinclined to accept the reins of government, but a powerful section of the Ḍāmaras, the Lavanyas to be more precise, persuaded him to do so, no doubt with the ulterior motive of having a puppet nominee of their own on the throne to wield real power from behind the scene.[5] This is also corroborated by the *Jaina Rājataraṅgiṇī* which states that Vopyadeva had a son but he was driven away to Rājapurī and not allowed by the Lavanyas (Ḍāmaras) to succeed his father.[6]

Jassaka had neither the ability nor the strength of character to rise to the situation. Being always dictated by the Lavanyas, he was unable to distinguish between right and wrong, as Jonarāja would have it.[7] He had a comparatively longer reign of some 19 years and died in 1199 A.D.[1] No event of any historical importance during his rule has been mentioned by Jonarāja and it may safely be assumed that the feudal Lavanyas (Ḍāmaras) wielded real authority in the state-affairs and became more wealthy and powerful at the cost of the common masses.

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[1] *R.T.*, (J.), 56.

[2] .*Ibid*, (J.), 56.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, (J.), Kaul, S.N., p. 54, fn. 6.

[5] *Ibid..* (J.), 56.

[6] *Jaina Rāiataraṅgiṇi*, IV, 415.

[7] *R.T.*, (J.), 57.

Jagadeva (*c* 1199-1213 A.D.)

Jassaka was succeeded by his son, Jagadeva, who was an energetic and capable man of considerable promise.[2] His eventful reign, however, falls beyond the purview of the present work.

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[1] *R.T.*, (J.), 64.

[2] Jagadeva has been mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as Jasadeva (II, p. 378). Smith read the name as Jagadeva on some coins (*C.C.I.M.*, p. 273) while Rodgers tried to read it as Javadeva (*J.A.S.B.*, 1879, p. 278) and suggested the possibility of another ruler of that name (Javadeva) ruling close to the period of Jagadeva's reign.

15

ADMINISTRATION

The foregoing is a narration of the political history of the valley for several centuries which witnessed the rise and fall of numerous dynasties. A review of the system of administration enjoyed by the people along with its peculiarities, reforms and innovations introduced from time to time will not be out of place here. Unfortunately, one is confronted with the difficulty of lack of material on the subject as the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is essentially a narrative of the political history and does not throw much light on the administrative system of the valley. But the bits of information that can be gathered from it, when taken into conjunction with other literary works, available epigraphs and numismatic data, are helpful in forming a picture of the same, howsoever hazy.

At the very outset, it has to be repeated that the 'historical period' in the history of Kashmir begins with the annexation of the valley and its adjoining regions into the far-flung empire of the mighty Mauryas. It has already been noticed that the history of Kashmir prior to that period is traditional, uncorroborated and untrustworthy. Yet, from the administrative point of view, it is of considerable import and it reveals that the institution of kingship was a known and established feature there. As elsewhere, the theory of 'war begot the king' seems to have an echo in the story of the Nāga and Garuḍa struggle. At the same time, the reference to Nīla—a Nāga—being anointed as the first king of the valley may be taken to hint, albeit remotely, the divine origin of kingship. Following the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*,[1] Kalhaṇa, too, seems to have had some such belief;[2] but whether his convictions were influenced by an intense love of the mother-land (which he compares with the goddess Pārvatī[1]) or were traditional, is difficult to determine. Thus it is found that the institution of kingship, whether divine or born of the exigencies of war, was well-established in the valley. Therefore, the office of the king and its implications may be taken for consideration in the first place.

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[1] *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, v, 237.

[2] *R.T.*, I, i, 72. The verse is obviously partially borrowed by Kalhaṇa from the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* cited above.

Kings and Kingship.

Early references to kings and kingship in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* clearly indicate that this office was elective in principle and the people played an important role in the choice of the king.[2] Numerous instances of persons being chosen as kings, deposed or forced to abdicate are met with in the chronicle and the election of Baka,[3] Sandhimat[4] and Yaśaskara[5] to that haloed office are positive instances of the same. While Baka and Sandhimat were popular choices, Yaśaskara was a choice of the Brāhmaṇas. It appears that the Brāhmaṇas of the valley and their leaders in the role of *Rāja-gurus* or *Purohitas* played a leading role in the selection of a king. Gradually, however, the official hierarchy began to assert itself and, instead of the Brāhmaṇas, the council of ministers and army chiefs frequently intervened in the selection of a successor to the king. The claims of Harsha were set aside by the ministers much against the wishes of the dying king, Kalaśa.[6] Thus, it can readily be surmised that popular will, Brāhmaṇical or priestly and ascetic organizations and the bureaucracy headed by the council of ministers played an important role in the selection of a suitable person as king in the valley.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, i, 72.

[2] But the divinity of kingship as noted above is also marked by a statement of Kalhaṇa, '*Kaśmīr* land is a Pārvatī, known that its king is a portion of *Śiva*. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desires (his own) prosperity, will not despise him.' (*R.T.*, I, i, 72.) It clearly testifies the fact that in any case he must not be disobeyed. *Nīlamata Purāṇa* also acknowledges the divinity of the king. But this king should not be a despot and rule arbitrarily. (*Nīlamata Purāṇa*, v. *839*). He should rule according to the principles of Rājaśāstra. (*Ibid.*, v. 1367).

[3] *R.T.*, I, i, 325.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 116, 152.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 476.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 703.

Caste.

Another interesting feature of the institution of kingship in the valley was that, though the kings normally came of the Kshatriya stock, persons other than Kshatriyas were also called upon to assume the reins of government. The instance of Mātṛigupta,[1] a rank outsider, who was called upon to wear the crown is a case in point while the Utpalas could in no way claim noble descent, as noted earlier. It is, therefore, to be borne in mind that caste regulations were never followed scrupulously in the valley in this matter during the period under review. Notice has been taken of kings marrying Vaiśya girls,[2] a wine-dealer's daughter[3] and even Ḍomba girls.[4] Not only this; the Vaiśya lady whom Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II took as his consort was already married to a rich member of that community and the latter offered his legally wedded wife to the king.[5] Conversely, King Saṅgrāmarāja gave his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Brāhmaṇa.[6]

Succession.

While accession to, or acquisition of, the royal throne depended on the factors noted above, succession was generally guided by the rule of primogeniture, though there are several instances of younger brothers succeeding the elder ones.[7] In later times, however, the succession, though governed by the law of primogeniture, often depended upon the support of the official hierarchy headed by the council of ministers, as related above. At the same time, the gradual rise of two powerful factors, the Ekāṅgas and the Tantrins, further made matters worse as these two groups were militarily organized and not only made their influence felt in this matter but also often took sides of rival claimants to the throne,[1] as has also been narrated earlier.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iii, 231.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 17-37.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 678.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 386-87.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 31-36.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 11-12.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 393, 400, 402, etc.

Yet another factor that played a very significant role in the succession of a prince to the throne was the harem-politics.[2] The kings in the valley generally maintained a sizable seraglio and these were very often hot-beds of intrigues and complications in direct succession.[3] There are numerous instances of queens and concubines bestowing their favours and even bodily charms upon ministers and persons of ordinary ranks and they need not be repeated here. In consequence, the succession to the throne was seriously affected and rivalries started among their off-springs.[4] Similar petticoat influence is to be noticed in the career of Queen Sugandhā who was practically responsible for a civil war and her ambitious nature was the cause of her ultimate downfall and death.[5] The most glaring and pathetic example, however, is that of King Ananta, whose chief-queen, Sūryamatī, not only forced the king to abdicate but also exasperated him to such an extent that he committed suicide.[6]

Having thus briefly analysed accession and succession to the throne, it will now be convenient to have a glimpse of the kings' personality and entourage. In spite of the country's poor resources and territorial limitations, the kings of the valley maintained themselves in due pomp and grandeur. They were not only patrons of art and architecture founding numerous cities and building palaces, temples, *vihāras* and other charitable institutions, but also bestowed their favours on men of letters.[7] In many cases, even the queens and other high officials of the state followed their examples. Kalhaṇa presents a vivid description of the splendours of the court and activities of Lalitāditya and the favours cast on scholars by King Jayāpīḍa.[8] According to Hiuen Tsang the kings of Kashmir were very cordial to the foreigners.[9] However, some weaknesses of the

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1. *R.T.*, I, v, 249-50, 259-61; v, 289; vi, 91, 122-25, etc.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 249-62, 288ff, 354, 361-89, 404-12; vi, 233, 321 etc.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, I, v, 221, 228, 243, 256, 262.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 230-31, 420-22, 445-52.
7. *Ibid.*, I, i, 176; iv, 495-96, etc.
8. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 290-216; iv, 495 ff.
9. Watters, pp. 258-59.

kings—their intense greed and extravagances particularly—permeate the entire narrative of Kalhaṇa and there will be occasion to speak of these while taking note of taxation and revenue policies of the kings of Kashmir.

Checks and Limitations.

Kingship in the valley of Kashmir was not unbridled, for there were factors which acted as checks on the absolutism and autocratic tendencies of the kings. In the earlier stages, the elective principle, pointed out above, must have acted as a goad on them, for there always lurked the fear of a popular uprising in case they became autocrats. Coupled with this was the influence of the Brāhmaṇas whose community, led by the purohitas and religious organizations, often compelled the ruler to acquiesce to their demands or redress common grievances. According to the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* the daily sacrifices and the other sacrifices should be performed by the king in consultation with his purohitas.[1] It is the family priest who makes the king to sit on the throne.[2] The king is to worship the gods and the Brahmaṇas daily.[3] The role played by the important citizens and Brāhmaṇas, 'in the ceremonies of the yearly coronation bath of the king further suggests some sort of influence of the people on the king."[4] The chief weapon of the Brāhmaṇas was the practice of *prāyopaveśa*[5] or 'solemn-fast' and there are scores of examples of such hunger-strikes undertaken by Brāhmaṇas for redressal of common as well as personal grievances. King Śaṅkaravarman had introduced the system of forced carriage of (royal ?) loads by all and sundry;[6] the Brāhmaṇas, during the reign of Harsha, seized an opportunity and compelled the king to grant them immunity from the same.[1] The practice of such hunger-strikes was not resorted to in personal or communal interests alone,[2] but also in matters of national interest; when the bitterness between Harsha and Kalaśa had reached the brink of open hostilities, the Brāhmaṇas were able to bring about a temporary conciliation between the two by resorting to this practice.[3] But there are instances of the practice being abused as well.[4]

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[1] *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, v. 806.

[2] *Ibid.*, v. 829.

[3] *Ibid.*, v., 811-12, 821.

[4] Ved Kumari, *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, Vol, I, pp. 82-83, 132.

[5] *R.T.*, I, iv, 82.

The use of this practice occurs for the first time in the chronicle here but was later resorted to by the Brāhmaṇas as a potent weapon against royal atrocities as well as for meeting their personal and communal grievances; *ibid.*, I, v, 468; vi, 25, 336, 343; vii, 13, 1088, 1157, 1611; II, viii, 51, 658, 709, 768, 2224, 2733, etc.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 174.

Royal Courts.

Besides individual consultations with ministers and other highly responsible officers of the state, the kings held two types of courts or *'durbars'* (*āsthāna*) in the traditional style.[5] These were 'the Court of the Interior' (*ābhyantara*)[6] and 'the Court of the Exterior' (*bāhya*)[7] which may correspondingly be equated with the *'Durbar-i-Khas'* and *'Durbar-i-Am'* of the Mughal times. Admission and access to these must have been controlled and granted by the highest authority of the Lord Chamberlain (*Mahāpratihārapīḍā*) with the help of several chamberlains (*pratīhārins*) under him.[8] Entrances to these courts were guarded by 'armed ushers' (*yāshṭika*).[9] There are instances of ministers also permitting messengers with important news to these courts.[10]

The ministers, too, either singly or collectively, wielded considerable influence on the policies and absolute tendencies of kings. Mitraśarman, the Minister for Peace and War (*Sāndhivigrahika*) under Lalitāditya, of his own accord, refused to sign a treaty with Yaśovarman resulting in a war which was not liked by the king's generals.[11] While weak kings were overshadowed by the personality of their able ministers, there are instances of

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1. *R.T.*, I, vii, 1088.
2. *Ibid.*, I, iv 82; vi, 43.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 400-01.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 13-20.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 85-86.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 426.
7. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 62; II, viii, 426.
8. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 142, 485.
9. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 203, 215, 217.
10. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 61.
11. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 137-39.

personal rivalries amongst the latter affecting the vital interests of the dynasty and the state. After the death of Avantivarman, his chamberlain (*pratīhāra*), Ratnavardhana, placed Śaṅkaravarman on the throne, but another minister raised another person, Sukhavarman by name, to the status of a *Yuvarāja*, resulting in a feud.[1] There are also instances of ministers usurping real power into their hands, as is apparent from the happenings during the reign of the young and inexperienced King Chippaṭajayāpīḍa.[2] Under such conditions, it can readily be surmised that, while the ministers generally acted as checks on the kings' absolutism, sometimes unscrupulous ministers were responsible for the maladministration of the state.

The Ekāṅgas and Tantrins, two militarily organized groups, were also compelling forces in the political affairs of the valley and curbed the autocratic tendencies of kings indirectly, but these were more in the nature of meddling and unnecessary interfering bodies.[3] From the time of the assumption of the reins of government by Queen Sugandhā, these two bodies were involved in almost all rivalries for the crown and often blackmailed their nominees to extract huge sums of money in case the latter succeeded to the throne. On the whole, theirs was a vicious influence on the kings of the valley[4] and once the latter were caught in their web, it was difficult for them to get out of it without meeting their demands.[5] These groups had become so powerful that there are instances of kings being deposed by the Tantrins when the former were unable to meet their demands and the nominees of the latter being placed on the throne in the hope of fresh monetary gains.[6]

Central Administration.

Lack of epigraphic evidence is a sore point in any reconstruction of the administrative machinery of ancient Kashmir—and one has to rely primarily on the evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the other literary works which make incidental references to it.[1] According to Kalhaṇa, Kashmir was governed in the same fashion as the rest of the country prior to the administrative reforms introduced in that country by Jalauka, son of Emperor Aśoka Maurya.[2] This statement of the Chronicler leads us to infer that though Kashmir was included into the far-flung empire of that Mauryan Emperor,[3] it did not enjoy the full benefits of the Mauryan system of administration, as, otherwise, there would not have been much scope for Jalauka to introduce any reforms therein. As such, it is not possible to agree with Dr. Ray that 'possibly the Mauryan system of administration was in vogue at that time.'[4] The government of the valley, prior to the reforms of Jalauka, was manned by seven chief state officials viz., the judge, the revenue superintendent, the treasurer, the commander of the army, the envoy, the *purohita* and the astrologer.[5] Jalauka raised the number of important offices of the state to 18 but, unfortunately, Kalhaṇa does not enumerate them.[6]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 127-31.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 679-80.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 248-50, 255, 259-61, 265-66, 274-75, 287-89, 293-95, 302, 328, 331, 338-40, 421, 431; vi, 91, 120, 124, 132-33; vii, 94, 135, 155, 161-62, 1513, 1604; viii, 292, 303, 375, 510, 597, 928.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 338-40.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 162-63.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 295.

This non-enumeration of the 18 offices (*Karmasthānas*) and 'the absence of any corroborative evidence' have given rise to suspicion in the minds of some scholars about the veracity of Kalhaṇa's statement.[7] But, since Kalhaṇa explicitly states that, by introducing these offices, Jalauka 'created........a condition of things as under Yudhiṣṭhira,'[8] it will be justified to equate them with those mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[9]

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[1] E.g., *Kuṭṭanīmata Kavya* by Dāmodaragupta; *Deśopadeśa--Narmamālā*, *Samayamātṛikā* and *Daśāvatāracharita* by Kshemendra; *Dvitīyarājataraṅgiṇī* by Jonarāja, etc.

[2] *R.T.*, I, i, 118-20.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, i, 101 ff.

[4] Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 124.

[5] *R.T.*, I, i, 119.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, i, 120.

[7] Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 125.

Dr. Ray, however, admits the possibility of these 18 offices corresponding to those enumerated in the *Mahābhārata* (*ibid.*).

[8] *R.T.*, I, i, 120; cf. also Pandit's translation and foot-note on the same.

[9] *Mahābhārata*, II, v, 38.

The 18 offices are; *mantrin*, *purohita*, *yuvarāja*, *senāpati*, *dvārapāla*, The Mauryan system of administration, as enunciated in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and with which Jalauka must have been quite familiar, speaks of 18 *tīrthas* or offices.[1] And it may well be inferred that Jalauka basically followed the same pattern but made certain changes in the designations of these offices to suit the local conditions obtaining there at that time.

This system of administration as imposed on the people of the valley seems to have been followed by all rulers with some modifications and innovations till the beginning of the 8th century A.D. when Emperor Lalitāditya introduced certain reforms in it.[2] A new addition to the 18 offices, during the intervening period, seems to have been that of *Aśvaghāsakāyastha*, held by Durlabhavardhana before he was called upon to assume royalty.[3] Some scholars have taken the office of the *nagarādhipa* as another innovation of the same period,[4] but it would be preferred to equate it with that of the *nagarādhyaksha*, which office figures in the list of the 18 in the *Mahābhārata* as noted above.

With the extension of territories and consequent increase in the responsibilities of the state, the administrative system of the valley seems to have undergone considerable changes during its palmy days under Emperor Lalitāditya.[5] Accumulation of immense wealth[6] through extensive successful campaigns and conquests of that mighty monarch naturally led to an increase in the pomp and grandeur of the royal court and, at the same time, the emperor must have felt the necessity of rewarding and accommodating those who had stood fast by him and shone to advantage in the innumerable engagements.

According to Kalhaṇa, Lalitāditya created five new offices viz., those of *mahāpratīhārapīḍā*, *mahāsandhivigraha*, *mahāśvaśālā*, *mahābhāṇḍāgāra* and

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antarvesika, *kārāgārādhikārin*, *dravyasañchayakṛit*, *sannidhātṛi*, *pradeshṭṛi*, *nagarādhyaksha*, *kāryanirmāṇakartṛi*, *dharmādhyaksha*, *sabhādhyaksha*, *daṇḍapati*, *durgapāla*, *rāshṭrāntapāla* and *āṭavīpāla*.

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, I, 12, cf. also Mookerji, R.K., *Aśoka*, p. 133 ff; Puri, B.N., *History of Indian Administration*, vol. I, pp. 55-56.

[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 141, p. 12.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 489.

[4] Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 125.

[5] *R. T.*, I, iv, 141-43.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 176, 189.

mahāsādhanabhāga, which were termed collectively as '*pañchamahāśabda*.[1] Scholars are not unanimous about the exact meaning or connotation of the latter term. Following Stein[2] and Fleel[3], Tripathi[4], Ray[5] and others have interpreted the term *pañchamahāśabda* to mean five offices, while Elliot,[6] Aiyangar[7] and others have taken it to denote the use of five musical instruments as a mark of honour and distinction allowed by the ruler to some favoured high officer of the state. Since the creation of five new offices over and above the existing 18 ones is expressly emphasized by Kalhaṇa,[8] one is inclined to follow the former interpretation; but, at the same time, it may also be suggested that such high dignitaries, who held that esteemed honour, were heralded in their state-outings by use of the five musical instruments viz., the horn (*śṛiṅga*), the tambour (*ṭammaṭa*), the conch-shell (*śaṅkha*), the kettledrum (*bherī*) and the bell or gong (*jayaghaṅṭa*).[9] Mitraśarman, who was formerly only a 'Minister for Peace and War' (*sāndhivigrahika*) during the reign-period of Lalitāditya, was the first dignitary to have enjoyed that honour; subsequently, Jayadatta and Utpalaka also held that coveted office during the reign of Jayāpīḍa and Chippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa respectively.[10]

The bureaucracy was headed by a number of ministers and other high officials whose careers and activities during the period of their tenure, and throughout the centuries under review, form a large part of the entire narrative of Kalhaṇa. It has been stated that, prior to the administrative reforms introduced by Jalauka,[11] the machinery of government was manned by seven high officials (consisting of a judge, a revenue superintendent, the treasurer, the commander of the army, the *purohita* and the astrologer).[12]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 140-43.
[2] *Ibid.*, fn.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 202 and fn. 1.
[5] Ray, S. C., *E H.C.K*, pp. 122-26.
[6] *I.A.*, V, p. 251.
[7] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, (N.S.), 1925, vol. I, p. 238 ff.
[8] *R.T.*, I, iv, 141.
[9] *I.A.*, XII, p. 95.
[10] *R.T.*, I, iv, 512, 680.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, i, 118.
[12] *Ibid.*, I, i, 118-19.

Jalauka, as noted above, thoroughly reorganized the administrative machinery, yet there is hardly any clear mention in the Chronicle of a council of ministers (*mantriparishad*) or of their joint deliberations on matters of paramount importance to the state, as envisaged by Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* on the lines of which the Mauryan administration is said to have been based.[1]

A few references that might indirectly be suggestive of ministerial council or a cabinet of ministers deliberating on matters of national importance may be taken notice of here. Emperor Lalitāditya, while on his Central Asian expedition, sent certain instructions to his ministers pertaining to policy (to run the government in his absence) and succession (in the event of his death).[2] The ministers seem to have asked for his directives on both these issues and followed his injunctions after taking note of them.[3] It should be noted here that though the sagacious Mitraśarman had been rewarded with the title of *pañchamahīśabda* (as noted earlier), the responsibility of breaking the news to other ministers and the masses was shouldered by Chaṅkuṇa, the Tocharian and the chief minister.[4] The other refers to the period of the Regent-Queen Diddā, when she conferred upon Naravāhana the title of *Rājānaka* in 'the council of ministers'.[5] Taking all these features together, it is believed that though Jalauka introduced the Mauryan system of administration partially in the valley, he did not lay much stress on the constitution of *mantriparishad* (so much emphasized in the *Arthaśāstra*),[6] probably in view of the conditions prevailing in those regions.

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[1] Mookerji, R.K., *Chandragupta Maurya And His Times*, p. 78.

[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 340-60.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 362 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 361; cf. also Stein's note on I, iv, 211, wherein the name Chaṅkuṇa has been taken to be the Sanskritised form of the Chinese title Tsiang-kiun.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 261. The other reference to ministers meeting 'in council' is to be met with a little later where the word '*Saṁmantrya*' has been used by Kalhaṇa (vi, 335). But one prefers the translation of Pandit, according to whom it should be taken to mean 'they (ministers) having taken counsel together...' and not 'they met in council' as proposed by Stein (*Ibid*).

[6] *Arthaśāstra*, VI, i.

As elsewhere, the ministers were appointed by kings and the chief minister bore the high-sounding title of *Sarvādhīkārin*[1] and was also designated as *Agryamantrī* and *Mukhya-mantrī* on several occasions.[2] Besides the appellation *Sarvādhīkārin*, another title, *Rājānaka*, has been used as a mark of high and outstanding honour for persons of eminence and importance in Kashmir.[3] The term, literally meaning 'an inferior king or a petty prince' according to Monier-Williams,[4] and interpreted by Stein and Pandit to mean 'almost a king'[5], is not to be confused with the office of the chief minister as it was also conferred on persons of outstanding literary merit in subsequent times and its corrupt form, Razdan, is still in use as a family-name in a section of the Brāhmaṇas of Kashmir.[6] There does not seem to have been any fixed number of ministers assisting the king in the discharge of his duties of the state. Their numbers must have increased or decreased according to the exigencies of the times.[7] The ministers were in charge of the different departments[8] (*karmasthānas*) with their offices (*adhikaraṇas*) suitably staffed.[9]

The king was the sole appointing authority in so far as the chief minister or ministers were concerned. These appointments were supposed to be guided by the manifold qualities of head and heart viz., administrative ability, bravery and courage, knowledge of the laws and faithfulness to the king,[10] but, very often, persons of ability and character were ousted and replaced by the favourites of the rulers.[11]

Since caste-restrictions (as noted earlier) were loose in the valley, there are instances of persons of Vaiśya community becoming the chief minister.[1]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 81 ; vi, 199, etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 215; vi, 194; II, viii, 2360.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 117, 261.

[4] M. Williams, *S. E. D.*, p. 874, col. 3.

[5] *R.T.*, I, vi, 117fn.

[6] *Ibid.*, cf. also Pandit's foot-note on the same.

[7] Beni Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 340. According to him '...... the administration (in Kashmir) developed gradually and the number of ministers rose accordingly.'

[8] *R.T.*, I, i, 120.

[9] *Ibid.* I, vi, 38.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 199.

[11] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 194ff ; Phalguṇa, however, was recalled to office, *ibid.*, I, vi, 274.

As noted earlier, the advice and opinion of the ministers in the all-important matter of succession to the throne carried immense weight. Besides, there is the instance of Mitraśarman, a Minister for Peace and War (*sāndhivigrahika*) under Lalitāditya, refusing to ratify a treaty with an important adversary like Yaśovarman on his own responsibility which act was highly commended by his master.[2] Yet, at the same time, several ministers of outstanding merit were often disgraced and dispossessed of their offices due to court-intrigues and personal rivalries.[3] However, the ministers, too, were sometimes guilty of conspiring against the kings,[4] resulting in the assassination of the latter and many were inclined to line their own pockets at the cost of both the people and the royal treasury, as shall be noticed subsequently.

While the chief minister was distinguished by the honorifics noted above, other ministers have been referred to, without any apparent distinction in the terms, by familiar general terms of *amātya*, *mantrin*, *sachiva* and also as *dhīsachiva*[5] in the Chronicle. The office of the *pādāgra*,[6] however, deserves some notice here. It has been suggested by Stein that the office (of *pādāgra*) was 'directly managed by the prime minister'[7]; one, however, feels that it was the king's prerogative or sweet will to allocate it to any minister whom he deemed worthy of that charge.[8]

Besides the ministers, the head of the armed forces was one of the most important persons in the official hierarchy. He has heen styled as

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 207-08.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 137-38.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 194-95, 260, 272ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 293-328.

[5] Pandit, R.S., *R.T.*, p. 739. The learned scholar, however, makes a distinction between a *sachiva* and a *dhīsachiva* and calls the latter a 'political adviser' (*ibid*).

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 210.

[7] *Ibid.*, note.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 571. Naraka, the Chief Minister, was not given the *pādāgra* office by the king, which proves our contention.

Kampaneśa,[1] *Kampanapati*[2], *Kampanādhipa* (*ti*)[3] or *Kampanādhīśa*[4] in the Chronicle more frequently and rarely as *Senāpati*.[5] It appears from the Chronicle that the *Kampaneśa* or the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces was also chosen from amongst the ministers.[6] Sometimes one and the same person held charge of both the offices of the commander-in-chief (*Kampanapati*) and that of the Lord of the Gate (*dvārapati*).[7] The head of the armed forces seems to have had an assistant under him known as *Kamapanodgrāhaka*[8] whose duties and privileges are not clear.

The Chronicle details the careers and conquests (made on behalf of their masters) of several commanders-in-chief, but many of them were victims of court-intrigues and personal jealousies. Kamalavardhana, a noted warrior and chief of the armed forces, had the throne within his reach but honesty and conscientiousness were his undoing.[9] Yaśodhara, after a brilliant victory over the Shāhis during the reign of Queen Diddā, was a victim of back-biting and replaced by Rakka.[10] Jindurāja had distinguished himself against the doughty Ḍāmaras and was consequently rewarded with the office of the commander-in-chief.[11] But the prime minister, Haladhara, poisoned the ears of King Kalaśa against him and that worthy person was put behind the bars.[12] All these instances, separated from each other by centuries, do not, however, belittle the importance of that office; on the other hand, they emphasize its importance.

It is strange that, though the Chronicle is full of wars, combats and expeditions, there is hardly any notice of the traditional four wings of the army, viz., the infantry, cavalry, the chariots and elephants, being imparted training in a systematic manner. Still surprising is the fact that no king or commander of the army seems to have exerted himself in this direction.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vi, 237; vii, 579, 1366; II, viii, 647, 688, 1660.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 399, 923; II, viii, 627, 652, 655, 860, 1659, 2420, 2868.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 447 ; vi, 230, 233; vii, 154, 2190, 2205.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 177, 2758.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1365.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1362.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1319.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1430. Pandit, however, takes him to have been a 'recruiting officer for the army' (*ibid.*, p. 738).

[9] *Ibid.*. I, v, 447ff.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 228-37, 259.

[11] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 266-67.

[12] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 271-72.

Another office of no less importance in the scheme of administration in the valley was that of the *Nagarādhikṛita*[1] or City-Prefect, also styled as *Nagarādhipa*[2] and *Nagarādhipati*.[3] It has been contended that 'though the poet-historian mentions the name of the City-Prefect of Chandrāpīḍa's time, yet the functions of this office are not made out clearly.'[4] It is, however, not possible to agree with this suggestion, as several passages in the Chronicle, when pieced together, enable one to form an idea of the nature of work, duties and responsibilities of a *Nagarādhikṛita*. Jalauka, as noted, established 18 *Karmasthānas*[5] in the 'traditional usage' and the office of the *Nagarādhyaksha*, which is included in the list of the 18 *tīrthas* of the *Mahābhārata*,[6] corresponds with that of the *Nagarādhikṛita*. in the administrative scheme of the valley, as suggested earlier.

Chhalitaka, the City-Prefect of Chandrāpīḍa, is said to have 'removed the permanency of all offices.'[7] Apparently, the hereditary basis of appointments had brought about certain defects in the administrative machinery and the remedial action or steps taken by Chhalitaka made the posts either for life or temporary and or transferable. Such a drastic step could not have been taken by Chhalitaka unless he was a person

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 81; vi, 70.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 580.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 296.
4. Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 126. Ray, however, takes the office of *Nagarādhipa* as a creation of Chandrāpīḍa (*ibid* p. 125). He probably lost sight of the fact that the office of the *Nagarādhyaksha* figures in the list of 18 *tīrthas* of the *Mahābhārata* as noted by him also (*ibid.*). The 'traditional usage' (Stein, *R.T.*, I, i, 120) and the simile of Yudhishṭhira used by the poet in the same context is not without import, and the 18 *Karmasthānas*, if not identical with the 18 *tīrthas* of the *Mahābhārata*, must have been modelled on the same lines and it is believed that *Nagarādhipa* was the same as *Nagarādhyaksha* of the Epic.
5. *R.T.*, I, i, 120.
6. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhā Parva, II, 5-38. It should be noted here that both *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* take notice of this official. Cf. also Tripathi, R.S., *History of Ancient India*, p. 56.
7. *R.T.*, I, iv, 81,

enjoying ministerial rank as well as the confidence of the king. That the advice of a city-prefect carried considerable weight is proved by the fact that even the powerful Queen, Diddā, had to acquiesce to the words of advice tendered by her City-Prefect, Bhuyya, in order to regain her lost popularity.[1] In the same context, Kalhaṇa, it should be noted, refers to Bhuyya as a minister.[2] Further, Janakasiṁha served first as a minister of Uchchala[3] and, afterwards, as the chief justice;[4] subsequently, he was raised to the post of the City-Prefect.[5]

The two instances cited above amply prove our suggestion that the office of a *Nagarādhikṛita* was no less important than that of a high-ranking minister and given to such eminent persons who were in the best confidence of the king.

The *Nagarādhikṛita* seems to have been connected with the revenue department as well. Notice has been taken of the fact that King Yaśaskara appointed four city-prefects and amassed considerable wealth through them.[6]

Generally, persons noted for their integrity, loyalty to the king and with a past record of meritorious services were appointed to this office.[7] Besides maintaining law and order in the city and ridding it of thieves and robbers,[8] the city-prefects were expected to accompany the kings to the battlefield with regiments under them.[9] In his last desperate effort to save his life by flight, Sussala made over the entire responsibility of the city's defences and local administration to his City-Prefect, Janakasiṁha.[10] Some idea of the importance of this office can also be had from the fact that the city-prefects, at times, tried to play the role of king-makers as well. King Kalaśa appointed Vijayasiṁha, a man of proven ability, his City-Prefect; but the latter was removed from that important office.

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 296-98.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 184.
4. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 573.
5. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 632, 813-14, 932.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 70.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 580.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1542-43.
10. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 813-14.

Vijayasiṁha, thereupon, retaliated by helping Harsha in gaining the crown and was rewarded by the latter with the offer of his former post.[1] Janakasiṁha, however, was less fortunate in his efforts to play the same role.[2]

The duties and responsibilities of the *Nagarādhikṛita* seem to have increased with the passage of time. During the reign of Jayasiṁha, Kularāja was appointed to that office as he was 'famed for his skill in military exercises',[3] and he lived up to his reputation by killing and defeating many of the king's adversaries in several engagements.[4] That worthy officer soon rid the administrative machinery of many of its ills and was responsible for restoring the gold-balance of the *dīnnāra*, and the standard in monetary transactions.[5] Besides looking after the defences and social security from thieves and robbers in the city, the city-prefects were also custodians of morals. It has already been noticed that the numerous reforms introduced by Kularāja during the reign of Jayasiṁha were in order to raise the standards of morality in the valley.[6]

It has been noticed above that former ministers were later elevated to the rank of city-prefects[7] and that they were responsible for the defences and internal peace of the city and had financial responsibilities as well. It is, therefore, reasonable to submit that the office of the *Nagarādhikṛita* was one of the most important ones in the administrative set-up of the valley.

Foreign Relations.

Owing to its peculiar natural surroundings and mountainous regions, the valley of Kashmir was more or less cut off from the rest of the subcontinent. As such, the factor of inaccessibility accounted for much of its seclusion and little mention in the early literature of the country. With improvements in the means of communications and also because of the brilliance of some of its enlightened rulers, Kashmir is found figuring prominently in the affairs of the whole country, particularly from the time of Kanishka. That great Kushāṇa ruler is said to have waged wars with the Chinese, married a Chinese princess and brought two Chinese princes as hostages who were allotted a piece of land known as Chīnabhukti (modern Chinbhuk) in Punjab.[1] Obviously, this was the first contact of Kashmir with its neighbours, unless one gives a serious thought to the legendary prince, Kustana, a son of Aśoka, who is said to have founded the town of Kustana after his name which is now-a-days known as Khotan in China.[2] Subsequently, Harshavardhana of the Pushpabhūti dynasty is said to have established contacts with his contemporary Kashmiri king, Durlabhavardhana, for the famous 'Tooth Relics' of the Buddha, as noted by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang.[3]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 580, 887ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 931-1006.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2115-16.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2115, 2190, 2321 ff, 3334-3341.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3334-41.
[6] *Ibid.*, cf. also Chapter XIII.
[7] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 183, 256; *ibid.*, 184, 632.

The rise of the Kārkoṭas ushered in a new era in the history of the valley. Emperor Lalitāditya not only made extensive conquests in all directions but is also stated to have maintained, like his predecessor Chandrāpīḍa, diplomatic relations with the Emperor of China in order to contain the growing power of the Tibetans in the East and the Arabs in the West.[4] Lalitāditya seems to have been anxious to form a confederacy against these two growing powers which practically sandwiched his empire, and must have enlisted the support of his one-time adversary, Yaśovarman of Kanauj, King of Central India, who is also stated in the Chinese annals to have approached the Chinese Emperor with similar intentions.[5] Subsequently, Jayāpīḍa seems to have tried to emulate his illustrious grandfather and there is a veiled reference to his activities in the territories of other kings as far east as Gauḍa.[6] If the Chronicle is to be believed, Jayāpīḍa also sent an envoy to Sri Lanka and the local king obliged him (Jayāpīḍa) by conforming to his wishes.[7]

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[1] Watters, I, pp. 292-93; Raychaudhuri, H.C., *P.H.A.I.*, p. 474;

[2] Bapat, P.V., ed., *2500 years of Buddhism*, p. 58.

[3] Watters, I, p. 279; cf. also Mookerji, R.K., *Harsha*, p. 40; Vaidya, C.V., *H.M.H.I.*, pp. 17, 206; Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, pp. 84-86.

[4] *R.T.*, II, p. 357; Ghoshal, U.N., *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 177 ff.; cf. also, *R.T.*, I, iv, 45 n., 126 n.

[5] Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 196.

[6] *R.T.*, I, iv, 420-21.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 503-06.

The illustrious Utpala king, Śaṅkaravarman, seems to have maintained diplomatic relations with his neighbours and 'verily made the princes (abroad) place his orders on their jewelled crests'.[1] His relations with the Shāhis and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras have already been discussed at length and need no repetition here. Subsequently, the Utpala king, Gopālavarman, interfered successfully into the affairs of the Shāhi house, when the rebellious Shāhi ruler was defeated and replaced on the throne by Kamaluka.[2] A concrete step in the direction of establishing friendly relations with neighbouring rulers was taken during the reign of Kalaśa when as many as eight rulers hailing from different directions assembled at his court to strengthen ties of friendship with the Kashmiri ruler.[3]

Matrimonial alliances were also contracted by the kings of Kashmir to improve foreign relations. Jayāpīḍa is said to have married the daughter of Jayanta, a king of Gauḍa.[4] This matrimony proved highly beneficial to the Gauḍa king, who with Jayāpīḍa's help, soon established his supremacy over 'the five Gauḍa chiefs'.[5] A similar alliance effected through the marriage of the Shāhi princess Diddā with Kshemagupta[6] had far-reaching consequences in the subsequent political events of the valley. It was mainly on the strength of cordial relations between the two states that Kashmiri forces were sent to help the Shāhi ruler, Trilochanapāla,[7] against Mahmud of Ghazni, with the disastrous results detailed earlier. Subsequently, one hears of the Kashmiri court dominated by Shāhi princes and their interference in the affairs of the valley.[8]

Yet it has to be admitted that, barring a few exceptions, the kings of Kashmir paid little attention towards fostering and maintaining amicable relations with kings and rulers of distant lands; it has well been summed up by a learned scholar that 'their activities were mostly confined in their

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1. *R.T.*, I, v, 138.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 232-33.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 587-89.
4. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 461-62.
5. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 467.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 176.
7. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 47 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 144 ff. Kashmir-Shāhi relations have been detailed elsewhere.

dealings with their immediate neighbours—the rulers of Kāshṭhavāta, Champā, Rājapurī, Lohara, Dārvābhisāra, Daraddeśa and the Bhauṭṭas'.[1]

Provincial Administration.

The valley of Kashmir had, in ancient times, been broadly divided into two main parts, with Srinagar as the point of demarcation between the two.[2] The extensive regions lying in the north and north-west of that city and watered by the Vitastā (Jhelum) were known as Maḍavarājya (modern Maraz) while the area south and south-east of that city and also irrigated by the same river was called Kramarājya (Kamraz).[3] This rough division of the two is also indicated in the description of the attempt of Suyya, who tried to tame the waters of the Vitastā, whose floods had caused considerable losses to the people and disrupted the economy of the valley.[4] In early times, Maḍavarājya in the north and Kramarājya in the south served as the two administrative units, roughly corresponding to provinces; subsequently, areas around the fort of Lohara, which were provided by nature itself with 'excellent defensive positions' and watered by a river of the same name, came to form another province.[5] The term *rājya* figuring in the names of the first two administrative units has been interpreted by scholars to denote a provincial division,[6] yet, it is significant that Lohara has not been referred to in the Chronicle with the same appellation; on the other hand, it has been called a *maṇḍala*.[7] But since the governors of all these three divisions were styled *maṇḍaleśa*, it may reasonably be inferred that *maṇḍala* was also another administrative term signifying a province or an administrative division.[8] Since the two administrative divisions (of Maḍavarājya and Kramarājya) referred to above were known even to Abul Fazl together with their smaller sub-divisions, their geographical import and the correctness of this traditional division need not be doubted.[9]

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[1] Ghoshal, U.N., *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 179.
[2] *R.T.*, I, ii, 15 n; v, 84-89.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 15n; v, 87.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 81-96.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, p. 293-300.
[6] Ray, S.C., *E. H. C. K.*, p. 131; Bamzai, P.N.K., *H.K.*, p. 193.
[7] *R.T.*, I, iv, 177.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 177; vii, 1304, etc.
[9] *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarret's trans.) ii, pp. 368, 371.

The *rājyas* or the *maṇḍa!as* were further divided into smaller units known as *vishayas* which would correspond to the *parganas* of the present times in the alley.[1] The number of these *vishayas* or *parganas* seems to have varied from time to time; the *Lokaprakāśa*, for instance, refers to the traditional 27 *vishayas* of Kashmir while, according to Abul Fazl, their number was 41.[2] Several of them have been referred to by Kalhaṇa also.[3] It is rather unfortunate that it is not possible to specifically submit the designation of the officer in charge of a *vishaya* from the Chronicle itself, but, according to Kshemendra, he was known as *Mārgapati*.[4] The latter may, however, be likened with the *Dvārādhipa*[5] of Kalhaṇa on the basis of some of their common duties—like the guarding of passes and roads. The *Mārgapatis*, in all likelihood, functioned like sub-divisional officers of our present times and were invested with authority to deal with civil and criminal cases as well in their respective *vishayas*[6].

Village Administration.

Each *vishaya* was comprised of several villages, the village being the lowest rung in the administrative scheme. Village administration was carried on by the *Skandakas*[7] who were assisted by *Grāmakāyasthas*,[8] the latter being also responsible for the maintenance of village records (like the present-day *Lekhapālas*) with the help of *Grāmadiviras*.[9] The *Skandakas*,

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 51; II, p. 437.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, p. 436-37; Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, pp. 10-14.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, i, 97, 306; II, viii, 504, 733, 1260, etc.

[4] *Narmamālā*, I, 97.

[5] *R.T.*, I, v, 214n.

[6] Kshemendra, *Narmamālā*, I, 127.

[7] *R.T.*, I, v, 175.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] It has generally been held by scholars that *grāmakāyasthas* (Beni Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 433) or *grāmadiviras* (Ray. S.C,, *E.H.C.K.* p. 131) were responsible for administration in the villages. But, as pointed out by Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, p. 987), there is a distinction between the terms *divira* and *Kāyastha*. There may be another suggestion in the light of Kalhaṇa's statement (*R.T.*, I, v, 175). Since he mentions *Skandakas* first and *grāmakāyathas* afterwards as officials (*R.T.*, I, v, 175), the former may be treated as superior to the latter. The term *grāmadivira*, if one is allowed to follow Kane's suggestion, would then

Grāmakāyasthas and *Grāmadiviras* were paid officers of the state and received their salaries from out of the realisations of village-revenues.[1] Besides paying their dues to the state-officers, the villagers were also called upon to provide forced labour like carrying of loads, etc., or, in default, had to pay fines at the rate of current prices of commodities in the market.[2] What is of special interest regarding this obnoxious practice of forced labour is the fact that even the Brāhmaṇas, who had enjoyed certain social and legal privileges by virtue of their birth in that particular community all over the sub-continent, were not exempt from this type of '*begar*'.[3]

The first glimpse of the actual working and expansion of the administrative machinery together with its departments and offices is offered by Kalhaṇa in his narrative of the reforms during the reign of Jalauka.[4] Of the five principal officers of the state mentioned in that context, two—the Revenue Superintendent (*dhanādhyaksha*) and the Treasurer (*Kośādhyaksha*) —are noteworthy in the present context.[5] It is, however, of interest to note that prior to the extensive conquests of Jalauka (as narrated by Kalhaṇa) Kashmir has been called a '*maṇḍala*',[6] indicating that, formerly, it was a petty state and that its principal officers were few in numbers. With the expansion in the extent of the boundaries of Kashmir, the need for a more comprehensive machinery of administration was felt; hence its expansion and reorganisation into 18 departments or offices (*Karmasthānas*).[7] Subsequently, though minor offices had been added[8] to these 18 existing ones, another serious attempt to streamline the administration was made by Lalitāditya, whose extensive conquests and glory are reflected in the high-sounding phraseology used to indicate the offices created by him.[1]

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mean 'a village clerk' (*op. cit.*). Here, therefore, *Skandakas* have been treated as officers in charge of the villages, who were assisted by *grāmakāyasthas* in revenue-collections and had *grāmadiviras* or village clerks under them.

1. *R.T.*, I, v, 176, 177.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 171-74; vii, 1088.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1088.
4. *Ibid.*, I, i, 118-20.
5. *Ibid.*, I, i, 118-20.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 489.

And it is quite possible that the office of the *Mahībhāṇḍāgāra*[2] came to replace or include the earlier office of the *Kośādhyaksha*. With the passage of time, there was further increase in the bureaucracy and its offices[3] and even the need of a mobile treasury (*chalagañja*) was felt to serve on conquering expeditions.[4] Similar expansion is to be noticed during the reign of the Utpalas when the offices of *gṛihakṛitya* (dealing with the domestic affairs of royal household) and *aṭṭapatibhāga* (royal share of the market) came into existence.[5] The process continued in the days of the Loharas and Kalhaṇa furnishes more or less near-contemporary account of the progressive growth in the numbers of new officers, both high and low.

Below are analysed a list of important officers and offices who figure from time to time in the Chronicle. It may be added that though a comprehensive list of administrative terms occurring in the Chronicle has already been drawn up by Pandit[6], yet it has been felt that some of these may be more closely analysed in their contexts.

Ābhyantara[7].

The term has been taken to mean a 'court of the interior' by Pandit and 'inner court' by Stein.[8] Kane, however, takes it to refer to 'officers specially intimate or in close contact with the king'.[9] Since the term has explicitly been used to denote ministers and feudatories of the inner court of the king[10] and not as a personal adjective, it may be treated as a court of the interior.

Adhikaraṇa and Adhikaraṇalekhaka[11].

The term *Adhikaraṇa* meaning an office is too well known. Both Stein

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[1] *R.T.*, I, iv, 141-43.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 588.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 588.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 167.
[6] *R.T.*, (Pandit), pp. 737-39.
[7] *R.T.*, II, viii, 426, 680, 1546.
[8] *R.T.*, (Pandit), pp 737-39; *R.T.*, II, viii, 426 (Stein's note).
[9] Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, p. 978.
[10] *R.T.*, II, viii, 1546.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, vi, 38-39.

and Pandit have taken *adhikaraṇalekhaka* to denote an 'official recorder'.[1] The context in which the term has been used in the Chronicle indicates that an *adhikaraṇalekhaka* was a recorder of deeds of transactions and was paid some fee or commission on that account by the party or parties concerned.

Akshapaṭala and Akshapaṭalādhīśa[2].

The term *akshapaṭala* has been taken by Pandit to refer to the 'accounts office'[3] while Stein, though uncertain about its exact meaning, suggests its probable meaning as the 'office of the Accountant General'. However, at one place Kalhaṇa has used the term to indicate an office where royal gifts were recorded.[4] As such, one would rather take it to mean a record-office.[5] The officer-in-charge of it was known as *Akshapaṭalādhīśa* and the office was one of such high importance as to be coveted by ministers.[6]

Āsthāna, Āsthānīya.

Āsthāna has been taken to mean a 'court' or 'assembly' by Pandit and a 'council' by Stein.[7] Since the term *Āsthānīya* has been used to denote a 'councillor' elsewhere[8], *Āsthāna* would refer to the king's court or '*durbar*' in the present-day terminology. The *Āsthānīya* would thus be a councillor or member of the royal court.

Aṭṭapatibhāga.

The office of the *Aṭṭapatibhāga*[9] was created by Śaṅkaravarman obviously as a branch of the revenue office where taxes and tithes from the markets and shops were deposited.

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1. *R.T.*, II, vi, 38 (Stein's note).
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 301 (Stein's note), 389.
3. *Ibid.*, (Pandit), v, 301; p. 737.
4. *Ibid.*, I, v, 397-98.
5. Cf. Beni Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 300, who on the authority of Fleet, has interpreted the term as a record-office.
6. *R.T.*, I, v, 389.
7. *Ibid.*, Pandit, p. 737; Stein, I, vii, 85-86; iv, 62n.
8. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1505; II, viii, 1620.
9. *Ibid.*, I, v, 167.

Bāhyāli.

It has been seen that the *ābhyantara* courts functioned like the '*Durbar-i-Khas*'[1] of the Mughal times. *Bāhya* or *Bāhyāli* would, therefore, refer to the 'outer court' or the *Durbar-i-Am* of mediaeval days.

Dānapaṭṭaka.

The *Dānapaṭṭaka*[2] was obviously a 'deed of gift' or grant, a charter from the king's office (*akshapaṭala*) recorded by the *paṭṭopādhyāya* or official scribe of such grants and given to the donee to stand proof of his ownership.

Daṇḍanāyaka.

The term, used only in one canto of the Chronicle[3], refers to a 'Prefect of the Police', whose duties might have been similar to those of 'city-kotwals' of later times. It should be noted that variations of this nomenclature, e. g., *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*,[4] *Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka*, *mahāsarvadaṇḍanāyaka* and *mahāprachaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka*[5] were prevalent in other parts of the country from the time of the golden days of the Guptas. In Kashmir, however, Mitraśarman, the Minister for Peace and War, was awarded the *pañchamahāṣabdas* but *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* is not one of them. Harisheṇa, the Minister for Peace and War under the mighty Samudragupta, is stated to have held the rank of a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*[6].

Dhanādhyaksha.

Prior to the administrative reforms introduced by Jalauka, the 'Royal Treasurer' was known as *dhanādhyaksha*.[7] Literally, the term would indicate a 'Superintendent of the Treasury'.

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 62; vii, 385.
2. *Ibid.*, I, v, 397-98.
3. *Ibid.*, I, vii. 951.
4. Sircar, D. C., *S. I.*, pp. 181, 260.
5. Beni Prasad, *State in Ancient, India*, p. 295. The learned scholar, however, interprets the term to mean a judicial officer.
6. Allahabad Pillar Ins. of Samudragupta, Sircar, D. C., *S, I.* p. 260
7. *R.T.*, I, i, 119.

Dharmādhikaraṇa and Dharmādhyaksha.

Dharmādhikaraṇa[1] was the 'High Court of Justice' while *Dharmādhyaksha*[2] was the Chief Judge prior to the reforms of Jalauka. Closely connected with this office was that of *rājasthāna*, which will be noticed below.

Divira.

The word *divira*[3] is held by Stein to have been derived from the Persian 'dibir' and means a 'Secretary', though elsewhere he translates it as a clerk.[4] According to Pandit also, it meant a 'clerk', which appears to be the correct meaning.[5] The *Lokaprakāśa* refers to various types of clerks attached to different offices, e. g., *gañjadivira, grāmadivira, nagarādivira*, etc., as pointed out by Stein.

Dvārādhikāra, Dvārādhikārin, Dvārādhipa, Dvārādhīśvara, Dvāranāyaka and Dvārapati.

The term *Dvārādhikāra*[6] refers to the charge of the gates and passes allowing access to and from the kingdom of Kashmir. The post was of utmost importance and the *Dvārādhikārin* or *Dvārādhipa*[7], with slight variations in his nomenclature noted above was 'the high officer who held charge of the passes leading into Kashmir'[8]. It has already been noted that, according to Kshemendra, the *vishayas* were governed by *Mārgapatis*; as such their position would become slightly anomalous in view of the high rank of the *Dvārādhipas*. It is believed that *Dvārādhipas* were superior to the *Mārgapatis* and, as apparent from their 'soldierly qualities' and responsibilities of protecting the passes (one *dvārādhipa* fell fighting while protecting the 'gate' against the Khaśas)[9], were directly responsible to

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 588.
2. *Ibid.*, I, i, 119.
3. *Ibid.*, I, v, 177; vii, iii, 119.
4. *Ibid.*, II, v, viii, 131.
5. *Ibid.*, (Pandit), p. 737.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 216. Stein in his note on I. v, 214 has wrongly referred to the term as occurring in verse 217 (p. 213, note).
7. *Ibid.*, I, v, 214; vi, 179, etc. ; vii, 216, etc., II, viii, 21, 178, etc.
8. *Ibid.*, I, v, 214n,
9. *Ibid.*, I, v, 214n.

the king. The *Mārgapatis*, on the other hand, may have had to perform civil and judicial duties as well in areas within their charge.

Gañja, Bṛihadgañjādhipa, Chalagañja, Gañjavara, Gañjeśa, Jayākaragañja, Sindhugañja.

The word *gañja*[1] has been taken to mean 'treasury' by Pandit and Stein, the latter having also translated it as a 'fund' in one context[2]. It has been stated in the Chronicle that a mobile treasury (*chalagañja*) was created by Jayāpīḍa to meet the expenses of the army on conquering expeditions.[3] But it appears that special funds could be created by high treasury officers also in their own names as apparent from the terms like *Sindhugañja*[4], and *Jayākaragañja*[5], obviously after finding out some novel methods of levying fresh imposts on the people. The officers in charge of the *gañja* were designated *Gaṇjādhipa*[6], and *Gaṇjavara* or *Gañjeśa*.[7] It is interesting to note that the word *gañjavara* has also been used for a treasurer in an inscription of *Mahākshatrapa*, Śodāsa.[8] It appears that there were several *gañjas* or treasuries at different places and the main one was designated as *Bṛihadgañja*.[9]

Gṛihakṛitya, Gṛihakṛityādhikāra and Gṛihakṛityādhikārin.

The office of *Gṛihakṛitya*[10] was created by Śaṅkaravarman evidently to meet the mounting expenses in domestic affairs and the king had appointed five *diviras* or clerks (secretaries according to Stein) and a *gañjavara* or treasurer to man the department.[11] The revenues of this office also included 'fees levied at certain domestic events such as marriages, *yajñopavītas*, etc.',

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 589; vii. 125-26.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 125.
3. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 589.
4. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 266.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 125.
6. *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2423.
7. *Ibid.*, I, v, 177; vi, 266.
8. *E.I.*, IX, p. 247.
9. *R.T.*, II, viii, 2423.
10. *Ibid.*, I, v, 167, 176-77.
11. *Ibid.*, I, v, 177.

which have collectively been called *maṅgalyadaṇḍa*.[1] Other means through which the income of this revenue office was enhanced were changes in weights and measures, fines on villages (perhaps imposed collectively on villagers) and other imposts.[2] The officer in charge (*gṛihakṛityādhikārin*) of this office was appointed directly by the king.[3]

Kampana, Kampanādhipati, Kampanādhīśa, Kampaneśa, Kampanodgrāhaka.

It has already been noticed above that, in relation to *Kampana*[4] or 'army' these various terms, barring the last mentioned, referred to the chief commander of the armed forces. *Kampanodgrāhaka*[5] has been taken by Stein to refer to 'some official connected with the army', while Pandit interprets it to mean a 'recruiting officer.' In view of the latter part of the term (*udgrāhaka*), one is inclined to fall in line with the suggestion of the latter.

Kāyastha, Grāmakāyastha, Aśvaghāsakāyastha, etc.

The entire class of government officials of the subordinate ranks have been grouped into the general term *Kāyastha*[6] by Kalhaṇa, and even a casual perusal of the Chronicle would make it clear that the Chronicler had no love for them and their oppressive and nefarious deeds.[7] Stein, after a careful study of the Chronicle, had arrived at the conclusion that 'the great mass of them was undoubtedly Brāhmaṇ by caste......',[8] which indicates that they had not emerged as a caste or class in the valley till the period under review. Most of them seem to have been connected intimately with the revenue department from the lowest level of the villages (where they were designated as *grāmakāyasthas*[9]) to the higher offices through which they were able to induce the king or kings of the valley to evolve fresh methods of taxation.[1] Evidently, there were ranks in this class of officials and one finds Durlabhavardhana, the founder of the illustrious Kārkoṭa dynasty, raised to the office of the *Aśvaghāsakāyastha*.[2] According to Pandit, the term meant 'the official in charge of horse-fodder' or 'official-in-charge of cavalry stores'.[3] Stein, however, has pointed out that, according to usage, fodder for horses collected from various areas was state-property and a tax was levied on it and collected by an employee of the state.[4] This would suggest that the duties of the *Aśvaghāsakāyastha* not only comprised looking after fodder for the royal cavalry but also collection of taxes due on it from private sale. This would fit in suitably with the application of the term *Kāyastha* in the latter part of the designation (*aśvaghāsakāyastha*).

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 167n (Steins note); II, viii, 1428.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, v, 176.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, v, 177, 301.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 447n; vii, 365, 1319; vii, 575.
[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1430n.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 90, 621, 629; v, 265; vii, 1226; viii, 131.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, I, p. 19.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, v, 265.

Mahābhāṇḍāgāra, Mahāpratīhārapīḍā, Mahāsādhanabhāga, Mahāsandhivigraha, and Mahāśavaśālā.

These five titles were created by Emperor Lalitāditya and conferred upon Mitraśarman, his Minister for Peace and War, in appreciation of his services.[5] These were collectively known as *Pañchamahāśabda*[6] the significance of which term has already been noticed above in its proper context.

Nagarādhikṛita, Nagarādhipa.

The prefect of the city was designated as *Nagarādhikṛita* or *Nagarādhipa*[7] and, at times, there were as many as four city-prefects looking after the administration of the town.[8] It appears that the city-prefects were also entrusted with the collection of revenues from the city, presumably from householders, markets, etc., within its bounds.[9] The appointment to this

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 621, 629.
2. *Ibid.*, I, iii. 489.
3. *Ibid.*, (Pandit), iii, 489; cf. also p. 739.
4. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 489n (Stein's note).
5. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 142-43.
6. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 81; vi, 70.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 70; II, viii, 631-42.

highly responsible office was made directly by the king as the city-prefect was also in-charge of the defence of the city[1] besides policing it and dealing with thieves and robbers.[2] It is possible that the *Nagarādhipa* was helped in his revenue-collections indirectly by another class of officers called *nāyakas.*

Nāyaka, Arthanāyaka.

A special class of officers known as *Nāyakas*[3] and *Arthanāyakas*[4] came into being during the reign of Harsha. One of the *Nāyakas,* it is interesting to note, was appointed to realise tax on night soil presumably because of its compost-value.[5] The designation *nāyaka* would refer to a class of officers who were appointed by the ministers to raise the revenues of the state.[6] The *Arthanāyaka,* in the particular context, was appointed directly by the king in addition to his ministerial duties and was in-charge of realising revenue dues from temples, religious endowments, etc., and he had also the authority to confiscate villages presumably granted to them for their proper maintenance and worship.[7]

Pārshad, Pārshada, Pārishadya, Dvijaparshad.

The term *Parshad* is obviously the same as its more current from *parishad* in Sanskrit literature.[8] It occurs for the first time in the Chronicle in reference to a corporation or assembly of Brāhmaṇas (*dvijaparshad*)[9] and has subsequently been used to denote a corporation of the Brāhmaṇas or *Purohitas.*[10] A member of such a corporation was known as a *Pārshada*[11] or a *Pārishadya.*[12] That the priestly community in Kashmir was well-organised into *parshads* is quite evident from the fact that its members (*pārishadyas*) claimed joint ownership of all property attached to, and within, the shrine or the temple.[1] The priestly corporations carried considerable weight in the political affairs of the valley and this hardly needs any repetition here. Through the very effective weapon of 'solemn fasts' (*prāyopaveśa*),[3] they often made the kings bow down to their wishes.[2] Their voice in the choice of a successor to the throne has already been noticed above.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1542.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 480.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1102.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1104, 1106.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1107.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1102.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1103-04.
[8] Monier-Williams, M., *S.E.D.*, p. 609. col. 3.
[9] *R.T.*, I, i, 87.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 132; v, 171.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 205.
[12] *Ibid.*, I, v, 466.

Rājasthāna, Rājasthānādhikārabhak, Bāhyarājasthānādhikārabhāk, Rājasthānīya.

Rājasthāna[4] appears to have been a high court of justice, perhaps dealing with cases of the city as indicated in the use of the term *rājasthānādhikāra*[5] for holding that office. *Bāhyarājasthānādhikārabhāk* would, therefore, mean the chief judge of a court of justice dealing with cases outside the jurisdiction of the city.[6] A *Rājasthānīya*, thus in all probability, was like the chief justice of the present times.

Śeḍa.

The term *Śeḍa*[7] has been used to designate an 'account office' and, from the context, it appears that there were several account offices of the same type.

Stheya.

While the *Rājasthāna* discussed above, functioned as a high court of justice, a number of judges (*Stheyas*)[8] seem to have dispensed justice in smaller courts. A *Stheya* was supposed to be impartial and 'free from love or hatred'.[1] Another designation of a judge was *Tantrapati.*[2]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, 1082-88.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 82; v, 468; vii, 13, 1088; 709, 900-902, etc.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 601; II, viii, 573, 1046, 1082.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 181.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2557.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 691; II, viii, 576.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, i, 7.

Amongst the minor officials, mention may be made of a *Mahattama*[3] which was not a post but either an office[4] or an official title[5] of some highly-placed person. A *niyogabhāk*[6] was a door-keeper or a janitor, a *Pratīhārin,*[7] a chamberlain; *Yāshṭika*[8] was a staff-bearer or a modern *chobdar* and a *velāvitta,*[9] according to Pandit, was time-keeper[10] while Stein suggests him to have been a 'favourite' of the king[11] (like the *musahibs* of later times). A *Praveśabhāgika*[12] was perhaps a cashier or a treasury–officer, but its meaning is doubtful.[13] Since the practice of observing 'solemn fasts' (*prāyopaveśa*) had become quite rife in the valley, a special class of officers known as *Prāyopaveśādhikṛitas*[14] had been created to keep watch on persons who undertook such 'voluntary starvations'.

Clerical staff, too, does not lack mention in the Chronicle; there were *adhikaraṇalekhakas*[15] or 'official (office?) recorders', *diviras*[16] or clerks (also *grāmadiviras*[17] or village-clerks, as noted earlier), *lekhādhikārins*[18] or officers-in-charge of documents (secretaries according to Stein) and *paṭṭopādhyāyas*[19] or 'recorders of official documents'. The term *sahāya*[20] can be more fittingly applied to an 'assistant' rather than a 'secretary'.[1] Records and documents also have their ample share of notice. A *lekhādhikārin* (noted above) would have been in charge of *lekhas*[2] or documents; a *gaṇanāpatrikā*[3] was an account-book or *bahī* of the modern times; a *dānapaṭṭaka*[4] was a document probably 'a grant' or a 'deed of gift'[5] and a *praśastipaṭṭa*[6] was a 'table containing laudatory inscription' either in temples, public buildings or some such places. 'Despatch-riders'[7] or 'letter carriers' (*lekhahārakas*),[8] *dūtas* or 'envoys',[9] *Kaṭakavārikas*[10] or 'military orderlies',[11] *Sūatas*[12] or equeries and many others are also mentioned in the Chronicle.[13]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, i, 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2422.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 438, 1106, 1170, 1176; viii, 440, 460.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 438n.
[5] *Ibid.*, (Pandit), vii, 438; p. 738.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1481.
[7] *Ibid.*, (Pandit), p. 738.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 203.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, v, 226; vi, 73, 106, 127.
[10] *Ibid.*, (Pandit), p. 739.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, v, 226 (Stein's note).
[12] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 278.
[13] cf. Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, p. 992.
[14] *R.T.*, I, vi, 14.
[15] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 52.
[16] *Ibid.*, I, v, 117; vii, 119; viii, 131.
[17] *Ibid.*, I, v, 177n.
[18] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 206.
[19] *Ibid.*, I, v, 397.
[20] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 38.

Irrigation.

Nature has bestowed upon Kashmir more than its fair share of scenic beauty in lofty mountains, rivers, lakes, forests and stately coniferous trees; likewise it has also provided the 'great irregular oval valley' of some 2900 to 3000 sq. km. in areas forming a rich and fertile plain eminently suited to agricultural pursuits.[14] Coupled with this was the abundance of water-supply from the lakes and rivers and, barring occasional floods and short-falls in rains, agriculture was the mainstay of the inhabitants of the valley. A few imaginative rulers of the valley paid due attention to the promotion of agriculture in the valley and were responsible for many canals, channels and aqueducts, dykes and other irrigational facilities. One of the oldest canals of the valley, the *Suvarṇamaṇikulyā*[1] (modern Sunmankul) seems to have had a hoary antiquity and is said to have been a creation of the legendary king Suvarṇa, son of Godhara.[2] In the same legendary category may be placed Dāmodara, who was responsible for the construction of a sizeable dam known as Guddasetu and also other 'long, stone-lined dykes...... in order to guard against inundations'.[3] Emperor Lalitāditya, too, seems to have exerted himself in this direction and caused construction of a number of waterwheels at various points of vantage for lifting the waters of the Vitastā for irrigation in several villages. But the most outstanding contribution in the direction of providing irrigation facilities, offering protection from floods by construction of dams, taming of the river waters, and building of bridges was that of Suyya, a man of outstanding engineering skill and a minister of king Avantivarman.[4] Many of the irrigation-canals and channels dug and constructed during the centuries under review have come down to this day 'with little, if any, change'.[5] As such, one may readily conclude with Stein that the importance of irrigation from the revenue point of view must have always been recognised by the rulers of the country.[6]

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[1] *R.T.*, (Pandit), p. 739.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, iii, 206; iv, 138 (the word used in the latter context refers to a document of treaty and is called *ālekha*).

[3] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 36.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 397.

[5] *Ibid.*, (Pandit), p. 737.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, i, 15n., 344.

[7] *Ibid.*, (Pandit), p.738.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 319.

[9] *Ibid.*, (Pandit), p. 738.

[10] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 345; II, viii, 861.

[11] *Ioid.*, (Pandit), 738. The term *kaṭakavārika* might refer in these contexts to an 'armed guard' or a 'military attache' as well. Stein, however, is not sure about the exact meaning of this word (note on i, 345).

[12] *Ibid.*, i, vii, 1603.

[13] Cf., *Ibid.*, (Pandit), pp. 737-39.

[14] *Ibid.*, II, p. 388; cf. also Bamzai, P.N.K., *H.K.*, p. 206 ff.

Revenues.

The main source of the income of the state was land-revenue supplemented with that of state-land,[7] customs like tolls on bridges[8] and frontier-posts,[9] fines,[10] confiscations[11] and usurpations of *agrahāra* lands and villages[12] and various other devices employed by the rulers and the bureaucracy from time to time.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, i, 97.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, i, 96-97.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, i, 156, 159.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 191.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, v, 72, 84, 98, 109-12.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, p. 427.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, v, 170.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 136.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1991.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, v, 172.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 41.
[12] *Ibid.*, v, 170; vii, 1090.

It is to be regretted that the Chronicle does not provide any definite information regarding the rates of taxation either on land-produce or on other taxable commodities. It has been suggested that the share of the government, in normal times, 'was one-sixth of the agricultural produce and was subsequently raised to one-half'.[1] It may, however, be pointed out that the attitude of the kings of the valley in this direction is well reflected in the policy-enunciation of Lalitāditya according to whom 'every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption....'.[2] If Kalhaṇa incessantly harps upon the tyrannical devices of exactions of the kings, he had every ground for it as there are instances of rulers appropriating the entire produce of the fields not only for one but three consecutive years from the cultivators and taxing them to the extreme.[3] Also, the villagers were forced to submit to as many as 13 kinds of 'fiscal extortions'[4] inclusive of the 'system of forced carriage of loads' during the reign of Śaṅkaravarman, as has already been noticed earlier. The land-revenue was generally realised in kind[5] and no attempt seems to have been made by the rulers of the valley to set a proper pattern of land revenue settlement beyond the maintenance of records through the agency of *grāmakāyasthas*, whose duties and functions have been noted above.

Apart from the revenues from the land-tax, there was considerable income to the royal exchequer from land under state-cultivation which seems to have increased in area by arbitrary confiscations of *agrahāras* 'taken under direct fiscal management' by the state.[6] The *agrahāras*, when taken over by the state, were assigned nominal compensation (*pratikara*) for their maintenance.[7]

Notice has been taken above of the various officers (particularly the *nāyakas*) and offices through which the state realised its dues from the markets and trade in general. It is interesting to note that, at times, the weights and measures were also reduced in order to enhance the income from the markets on cereals and woollen goods.[1] The Chronicle is a pitiful account of the various means devised by the rulers of the valley to tax its inhabitants. There were taxes on town and city-dwellers, artificers, and shops;[2] family ceremonies[3] like marriages, *yajñopavīta* (sacred thread), etc., were also taxed besides those levied on immorality,[4] prostitutes[5] and even on night-soil.[6] Atrocities in exactions sometimes reached such extremes[7] that spirited persons tried to take the law into their own hands and even went to the extent of making an attempt at the life of such a responsible officer as the minister and those holding the *pādāgra* office.[8] A few attempts were made from time to time to purge the administration of greedy officials[9] but these proved of little avail. It was only during the reign of Jayasiṁha that Kularāja, the city-prefect, was in a position to do away with many 'abuses which had been rife in the land for a long time' and promote the welfare of the people.[10]

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[1] Bamzai, P.N.K., *H.K.*, p. 203.

[2] *R.T.*, I, iv, 337.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 628; v, 165.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, v, 174n.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 347.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, v, 176n., cf., also II, viii, 2226, where confiscation of even pasture lands is hinted at.

[7] *Ibid.*

The realisations from these various sources went to the three main departments of *gañja*,[11] *aṭṭapatibhāga*[12] and *gṛihakṛitya*[13] and their numerous branches referred to above. But it appears that there was an utter lack of ways and means to see that the entire realisation from the different sources reached the treasury office. During the reign of Jayāpīḍa. the *Kāyasthas* or officials responsible for revenue-collections delivered to the royal treasury

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[1] *R.T.*, I, v, 171.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 629.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 1428. The term *maṅgalyadaṇḍa* seems to indicate taxes on all ceremonies of an auspicious nature connected with the Hindu way of life.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3336.
[5] Dāmodargupta, *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, verse 400.
[6] *R.T.*, I, vii, 110.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1107.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 2229.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, 2233-41.
[10] *Ibid.*, I, i, 118-20; iv, 53; II, viii, 85-97.
[11] *Ibid.*, II, viii, 3334-37.
[12] *Ibid.*, I, iv, 589.
[13] *Ibid.*, I, v, 167.
[14] *Ibid.*, I, v, 167, 176; vii, 42.

'only the smallest fraction of what they had realised' from the people.[1] Such corruption was not confined to the lower ranks alone, for one hears of city-prefects (*nagarādhikṛitas*) lining their own pockets instead of depositing the entire proceeds of their collection.[2] That bribery and corruption were quite rampant from the lowest rank in administration is apparent from the fact that *grāmakāyasthas* tried to oust each other 'by offering greater and greater bribes' to their superior officers, obviously to be given charge of more remunerative and prosperous villages in the state.[3] Very often, the officials themselves instigated and encouraged the rulers to levy fresh taxes as these offered them opportunities to line their own chests as well.[4] It is interesting to note that a system of annual or daily allowances (*pratyāhavetana*) to persons of the royal family was also prevalent in the valley.[5]

Yet, in defence of these vexatious and pernicious taxes and the system of revenue realisation, it may be said that the valley suffered from certain limitations imposed by nature itself. The country was land-locked and had to depend on outside trade for even its commonest daily necessities like the salt, spices and cotton goods from the remaining part of the sub-continent of India.[6] At the same time, it had to support a growing population, a bureaucracy which grew steadily in number through the centuries and also meet the extravagances of its royalty. It is true that the rulers of the country were greedy extortionists, generally impervious to the hardships of the peasantry, yet some of them were also responsible for considerable artistic activities and creations of magnificent monuments and architectural masterpieces which, however, fall beyond the scope of the present study.

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 629.
2. *Ibid.*, I, vi, 70.
3. *Ibid.*, I, v, 265.
4. *Ibid.*, I, iv, 621-23.
5. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 490-92.
6. *Ibid.*, I, vii, 1221.

16

COINS

Literary and epigraphic sources relating to the history of Kashmir during the period under review are substantiated by the numismatic data, which have been noted by several scholars from time to time.[1] But the 'coins from Kashmir tell a tale of boring monotony.'[2] However, such numismatic evidence dates from the time of Toramāṇa though as described earlier the history of the valley goes back to much earlier times. But with the rise of the Kārkoṭas in the valley, 'begins the first regular series of Kashmiri coins'.[3] Gold, silver, 'white metal' and copper coins[4] of the kings and queens of Kashmir have been found not only in the valley and the North-Western India, but also in several parts of the country as far as Monghyr in the east and Banda (Uttar Pradesh). Coins in Kashmir were known by different names e. g., *Dīnnāras*,[5] *Suvarṇa-Rūpaka*,[6] *Taṅka*,[7] and *Kedāra*.[8] These coins are of standard coin-type.

As has been observed the coins of Kārkoṭas are of very bold but rude workmanship.[1] Mostly gold coins were, more or less, alloyed with silver. 'This type with the standing king on the obverse and seated goddess on the reverse originated with the Kushāṇas and is known to have been adopted by the Gupta kings'.[2] The coins of the rulers of the Utpala dynasty are also of the same type. In fact the only difference 'is the more complete degradation of the figures of both the Rājā and the Goddess, which are only recognisable by tracing them back to their originals.'[3] It is interesting to note that most of the coins of Kashmir are of copper but the finds of a few specimens of both gold and silver, testify that coins were minted in these metals as well.

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[1] Cunningham, A., *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pp. 25-46; Smith, V.A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pp. 265-68; *J.A.S.B.*, 1879, pt. I. p.277; *J.N.S.I.*, vol. X, pt. I. pp. 31-37; *ibid.*, vol. XI, pt. I, pp. 65-69; Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, pp. 228-240; Gopal, Lallanji, *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, pp. 16-28, 57-64; Gupta. P.L., *Coins*, pp. 67-68: Banerji, R.D., *Prachina Mudra*, (Hindi trans by R.C. Varma), pp. 251-255.

[2] Gupta, P.L., *Coins*, 68; Gopal, Lallanji, *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 16.

[3] Cunningham, A., *C.M.I.*, p. 26.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 30.

[5] *R.T.*, Vol. II, pp. 308 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, vi, 45.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, vii, 926, (Stein's note), viii, 152.

[8] *Kuṭṭanīmata*, verse, 606.

Although the coins hitherto found follow the same pattern in type and techniques, yet a few of these deserve special mention. There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding *Śrī Pratāpa* coins. According to Smith and Stein these coins were issued by Pratāpāditya II Durlabhaka.[4] But scholars like Cunningham,[5] Agrawala,[6] Altekar[7] and Lallanji Gopal,[8] attribute these coins to Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. According to Ray 'there are strong points to believe that coins containing the legend *Śrī-Prātapa* actually belonged to him.'[9] These coins have been found at Faizabad (village Bhitaware),[10] Banda,[11] Varanasi (Rajghat and Sarnath)[12] in Uttar Pradesh and Monghyr[13] and Nalanda in Bihar.[14] King Durlabhaka had never had his sway over all these regions, while Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa had conquered most of them. His armies must have marched through these places as shown earlier. Then again he also adopted the title of *Pratāpā-*

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1. Cunningham, A., *C.M.I.*, p. 29.
2. Gopal, Lallanji, *E.M.C.T.N.I.*, p. 16.
3. Cunningham, A., *C.M.I.*, pp. 29-30.
4. Smith, V.A., *C.C.I.M.*, I, pp. 265, 268; *R.T.*, Vol. II, p. 318, fn51.
5. Cunningham, A., *C.M.I.*, pp. 40, 44.
6. Agrawala, V.S., *J.N.S.I.*, X. pt. I, p. 32.
7. Altekar, A.S.. *ibid*, p. 34.
8. Gopal, Lallanji, *E.M.C.T.N.I.*, pp. 21-22.
9. Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 237.
10. *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 843.
11. *J.A.S.B.*, (N.S.), XLI, 1928, pp. 6-9.
12. *J.N.S.I.*, X, pt. I, pp. 30-32.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 32, fn.4.
14. *A.R.A.S.I.*, (Eastern Circle) 1919-20, p. 48.

ditya.[1] It is not unlikely that the coins bearing *Śrī Pratāpa* legend were a part of the treasury carried by Lalitāditya to meet the day-to-day expenses of the army and have therefore been found at various places. (The implications of the find of *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* type of coins have already been taken into consideration while dealing with the conquests of King Jayāpida Vinayāditya).

Gold coins bearing the legend *Śrī Yaśovarma* have been attributed to King Śaṅkaravarman of the Utpala dynasty.[2] According to *Āgamaḍambara* or *Shamṇataṇāṭaka* written by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, King Śaṅkaravarman adopted the title of *Yaśovarman.*[3] Evidently, King Śaṅkaravarman issued two types of coins, one bearing the legend *Śrī Yaśovarman* another with the legend *Śaṅkaravarman.*[4] Such coins have been found both in the Punjab and Kashmir. Interestingly King Śaṅkaravarman is stated to have conquered certain portions of the Punjab and lower Kashmir.[5] It is not surprising, therefore, that the coins of Śaṅkaravarman are found in these regions. Smith, on the other hand, argued that the coins under question were issued by an unrecorded king either in the Punjab or Kashmir.[6] It is noteworthy that 'on the coins of Śaṅkaravarman and Gopālavarman the left arm of the goddess is omitted; on the later coins the honorofic *Śrī* preceding the names of the kings displaces her right hand.'[7]

Besides the usual copper-type, King Harsha also issued coins of gold and silver. An element of novelty was introduced by Harsha in the common types of Kashmiri coins. He issued two types of gold coins; on the obverse of one type a horseman is shown with a lance to the right and the legend runs as *Harshadeva.* A goddess is seated on the reverse. The legend on the obverse of the second type is *Śrī Harshadeva.*[8] The reverse depicts an elephant to the right. The horseman type of these coins was the adaptation from the coin types of the Shāhi kings.[9] The elephant type of the

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1. *R.T.*, I, iv, 134.
2. Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 24; Gopal, Lallanji, *E.M.C.T.N.I.*, p. 18.
3. Gopal, Lallanji, *E.M.C.T.N.I.*, p. 18.
4. *Ibid*, p. 58.
5. C.f. above chapter VI.
6. Tripathi, R.S., *H.K.*, p. 208.
7. Gopal, Lallanji, *E.M.C.T.N.I.*, p. 17.
8. Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 243.
9. Gopal, Lallanji, *E.M.C.T.N.I.*, p. 17.

coin was an imitation of the coins of Karṇāṭa.[1] Silver coins of Harsha follow the pattern of the second variety of his gold coins, with the legend *Harsha* on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse.[2] Very few specimens of gold and silver coins of Harsha have been discovered so far while there is an abundance of his copper coins.

Below is appended a list of notable kings and queens whose coins have come to light. It is regretted that all of them could not be illustrated here for want of good photographic illustrations.

KĀRKOṬA DYNASTY

Durlabhavardhana[3]

(Gold)

Obv. : Very crude figure supposed to represent the king standing. In the right field is *Śrī Durla* (*bha*); to the left is *deva* as the legend.

Rev. : Figure supposed to represent seated goddess. To the right is *Ja*(*yati*).

Durlabhaka

(Gold)

Obv. : King standing, facing left, with his right hand extended but slightly bent downwards. He wears a long gown with conspicuously rolled-up edge, reaching his knee. Legend in the left field, *Jaya* (*ti*) and in the right, *Kidāra.*

Rev. : Goddess Lakshmī (a crude figure), seated, facing front. Legend in the right field : *Śr*(*ī*) *Durlabha* and in the left, *deva.*

Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (*Pratāpāditya*)

(Gold and Copper)

Obv. : The crude standing figure of the goddess with the legend *Śrī Pratāpa* on the right and the letter *Ke* on the left.[4]

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[1] *R.T.*, I, vii, p. 926.

[2] Ray, S.C., *E.H.C.K.*, p. 243.

[3] Kak, R.C., *Hand Book of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*, p. 133.

[4] Two letters *da-ra*, it has been suggested, were engraved between the legs, but they are doubtful. Agrawala, V.S., *J.N.S.I.*, X, pt. I. pp. 31-33; c.f., also Altekar, A.S., *ibid.*, pp. 34-37.

Rev. : A crude figure representing the king to the left with hands lifted and the name *Kedara* vertically written on the right; by the side shown a crescent topped pole and a cross with long arms. On the left is a vertical line of dots showing buttons of the coat, and also some other dots indicating either a spray or outlines of a crude face.

Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya

(Gold)

Obv. : King standing—a mere trace of the device; legend to right : *Jaya* and *Ke* below.

Rev. : Headless seated goddess, barely recognisable. Legend *Śrī Vina* (*yāditya*).

Śrī-ja-Pratāpa[1]

'These coins are exactly like the *Śrī Pratāpa* coins with only *ja* inserted between *Śrī* and *Pratāpa*.'[2]

UTPALA DYNASTY

Śaṅkaravarman (*Yaśovarman*)

(Gold)

Obv. : Scarcely recognisable copy of standing king with *ki* (*dara*) below the left arm.

Rev. : Barbarous headless copy of the seated goddess with the legend *Śrī Yaśo*(*varma*).[3]

(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to right *Śaṅka* (*ra*).

Rev. : King standing barely recognisable; legend to right *Varma*.

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[1] Altekar, A.S., *J.N.S.I.*, pp. 34-37.

[2] Gopal, Lallanji, *E.M.C.T.N.I.*, p. 23.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 59.

Gopālavarman

(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to the right (*Gopāla*).
Rev. : King standing; legend to the right *Varma.*

Queen Sugandhā

(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to the left *Śrī* and to right *Suga*(*ndhā*).
Rev. : King standing; legend to the left *Devyā.*

Pārthavarman

(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to the right *Pārtha.*
Rev. : King standing; legend to the right *Varma.*

Nirjitavarman

(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend is *Nirji*(*ta*).
Rev. : King standing; legend is *Varma.*

Chakravarman

(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend *Cha*(*kra*).
Rev. : King standing; legend (*Va*)*rma Deva.*

Unmattāvanti

(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend *Śrī.*
Rev. : King standing; legend *Unma*(*ti*).

NEW DYNASTY

Yaśaskara

(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to the left *Ya*; to the right *skara.*
Rev. : King standing; legend *Deva.*

Parvagupta
(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to the left *Śrī*; to the right *Parva*.
Rev. : King standing; legend *gupta*.[1]

Kshemagupta
(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend *Śrī Kshema gu*.
Rev. : King standing; legend *pta De*(*va*).

Diddākshemagupta[2]

Obv. : Crude figure of seated goddess wearing enormous ear-rings. Legend to the left *Di*; to the right *Kshema*.
Rev. : Crude figure of standing king in regal attire. Legend below to the right is *gupta*.

Abhimanyugupta
(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to the left *A*; to the right *bhiman*(*yu*).
Rev. : King standing; legend to right *gu*(*pta*)

Nandigupta
(Copper)

Obv. : Figure of seated goddess Lakshmī wearing a head-dress, round ear-rings, bodice and skirts. The name of the king appears just below the ear-rings in *Devanāgarī* script; legend to the left *Na*; to the right *ndigu*.
Rev. : Standing figure of the king wearing high head-dress, coat, trousers and boots very much conventionalised. The boots look like two triangles projecting sideways from the legs. The king is holding a trident; legend to the right *pta*, followed by *de*(*va*).

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[1] Gopal, Lallanji, *E.M.C.T.N.I.*, p. 61.

[2] Kak, R.C., *Hand Book.*, p. 157. A parallel nearer our times is the case of Jahāngīr who coined money in the name of his wife Nūr Jahān.

Tribhuvanagupta

(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to the left *Tri*; to the right *bhuva*(*na*).
Rev. : King standing; legend to the right *gupta*.

Bhīmagupta

(Copper)

Obv. : Crude figure of seated goddess wearing ear-rings. Legend to the left *Bhī*; to the right *magu*.
Rev. : Crude figure of standing crowned king in regal attire. Legend in front to the right *pta*.

Queen Diddā

(Copper)

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to the left *Śrī* and to the right *Diddā*.
Rev. : King standing; legend to the right *deva*(*yā*).

LOHARA DYNASTY

Saṅgrāmadeva

Obv. : Seated goddess; crowned; wearing enormous ear-rings. Legend to the left *Sa*; to the right *ngrāma* (*rā*).
Rev. : King standing; legend to the right *ja deva*.

Ananta

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to the left *A*(*na*); to the right *nta*(*rā*).
Rev. : King standing; legend to the right *Ja de*(*va*).

Kalaśa

Obv. : Seated goddess ; legend to the left *Ka*; to the right *lassa*(*rā*).
Rev. : King standing; legend to the right *ja de*(*va*).

Harsha

Obv. : Figure of a horseman with lance; legend to the right *Harshadeva*.
Rev. : Goddess seated.

Uchchala

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend *Uchchala.*

Rev. : King standing; legend *Deva.*

Sussala

Obv. : Figure of Lakshmī, seated, wearing a head-dress, round ear-rings, bodice and skirts. The name of the king appears just below the ear-rings in *Devanāgarī* script; legend to the left *Śrī*; to the right *Sussa*(*la*).

Rev. : Standing figure of the king wearing a high headdress, coat, trousers and boots very much conventionalised. The boots look like two triangles projecting sideways from the legs. The king is holding a trident; legend to the right *Deva.*

Jayasimha[1]

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend to the left *Jaya*; to the right *Si*(*mha*).

Rev. : King standing; no legend.

Paramāṇuka

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend *Śrī Para*(*māṇuka*).

Rev. : King standing; legend *Deva.*

Avantideva

Obv. : Seated goddess; legend *Avanti.*

Rev. : King standing; legend *Deva.*

Jagadeva

Obv. : Lakshmī seated, wearing a head-dress, round ear-rings, bodice, and skirts. The name of the king appears just below the ear-rings in *Devanāgarī* script; legend to the left *Ja* and to the right *ga.*

Rev. : Standing figure of the king wearing a high head-dress, coat, trousers and boots very much conventionalised. The boots look like two triangles projecting sideways from the legs. The king is holding a trident; legend to the right *Deva.*

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[1] For a detailed study of the coins of Jayasimha, Cf. Gopal, Lallanji, *E.M.C.T.N.I.*, pp. 27-28.

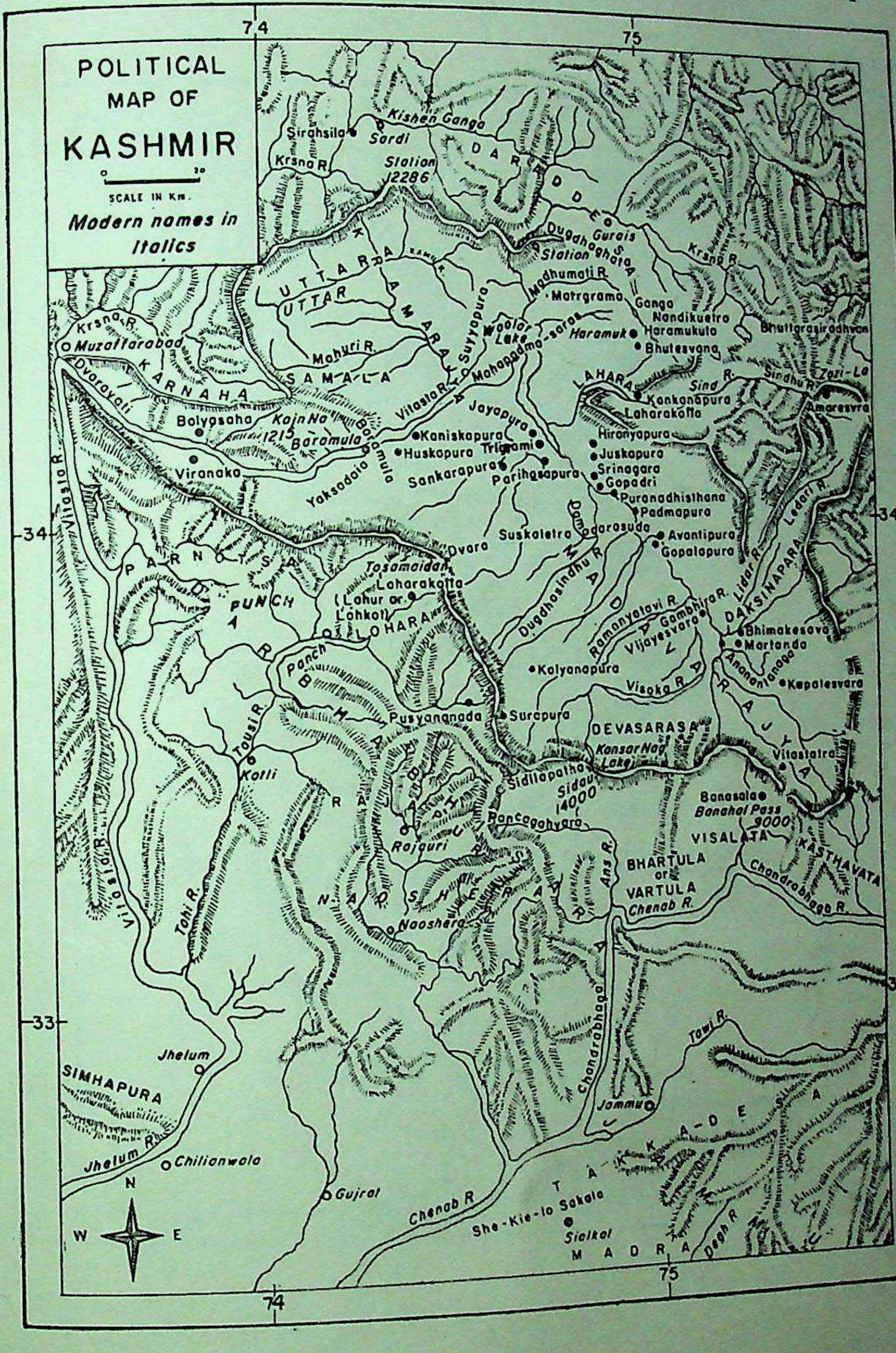
MAPS & PLATES

NOTE ON THE POLITICAL MAP OF KASHMIR

The Map of Kashmir purports to indicate both its physical features and the political extent of its boundaries from time to time.

Exigencies of space (within the map) compelled us to follow the Cambridge History of India system of transliteration in the spellings of place-names, rivers, mountains, etc., without any diacritical marks.

Map I


POLITICAL MAP OF KASHMIR
SCALE IN Km.
0
20
Modern names in Italics
74
75
34
33
Sirahsila
Sardi
Kishen Ganga
Krsna R.
Station 12286
DARADDESA
Gurais
Dugdhaghata
Station
Krsna R.
UTTARA KRAMARAJYA
UTTAR
SAMALA
Madhumati R.
Matrgrama
Ganga
Nandiksetra
Haramukuta
Haramuk
Bhutesvara
Bhuttarasiradhvan
Suyyapura
Woolar Lake
Mahapadma-saras
Mahuri R.
Krsna R.
Muzaffarabad
Dvaravati
KARNAHA
LAHARA
Sind R.
Sindhu R.
Zoji-La
Amaresvra
Kankanapura
Laharakotta
Bolyasaha
Kajn Na 1215
Baramula
Varahamula
Vitasta R.
Jayapura
Kaniskapura
Huskapura
Trigrami
Sankarapura
Parihasapura
Hiranyapura
Juskapura
Srinagara
Gopadri
Puranadhisthana
Padmapura
Yaksadara
Viranaka
Vitasta R.
Avantipura
Gopalapura
Suskaletra
Damodarasuda
Dvara
MADAVARAJYA
Ledari R.
Lidar R.
DAKSINAPARA
PARNOTSA
Tosamaidan
Laharakotta
(Lohur or Lohkot)
LOHARA
PUNCH
Dugdhasindhu R.
Ramanyatavi R.
Gambhira R.
Vijayesvara
Bhimakesava
Martanda
Anantanaga
Kapalesvara
Kalyanapura
Visoka R.
Panch
ABHISARA
BHIMBHARA
Pusyananda
Surapura
DEVASARASA
Kansar Nag Lake
Vitastatra
Tausi R.
Kotli
Sidllapatha
Sidau 14000
Banasala
Banahal Pass 9000
VISALATA
KASTHAVATA
Rajapuri
Rajauri
Rancagahvara
BHARTULA or VARTULA
Chenab R.
Chandrabhaga R.
Ans R.
Vitasta R.
Tohi R.
Naoshera
Chandrabhaga
Jhelum
SIMHAPURA
Jhelum R.
Chilianwala
Tawi R.
Jammu
TAKKADESA
Gujrat
Chenab R.
She-Kie-lo Sakala
Sialkot
MADRA
Degh R.
N
S
E
W

Map II

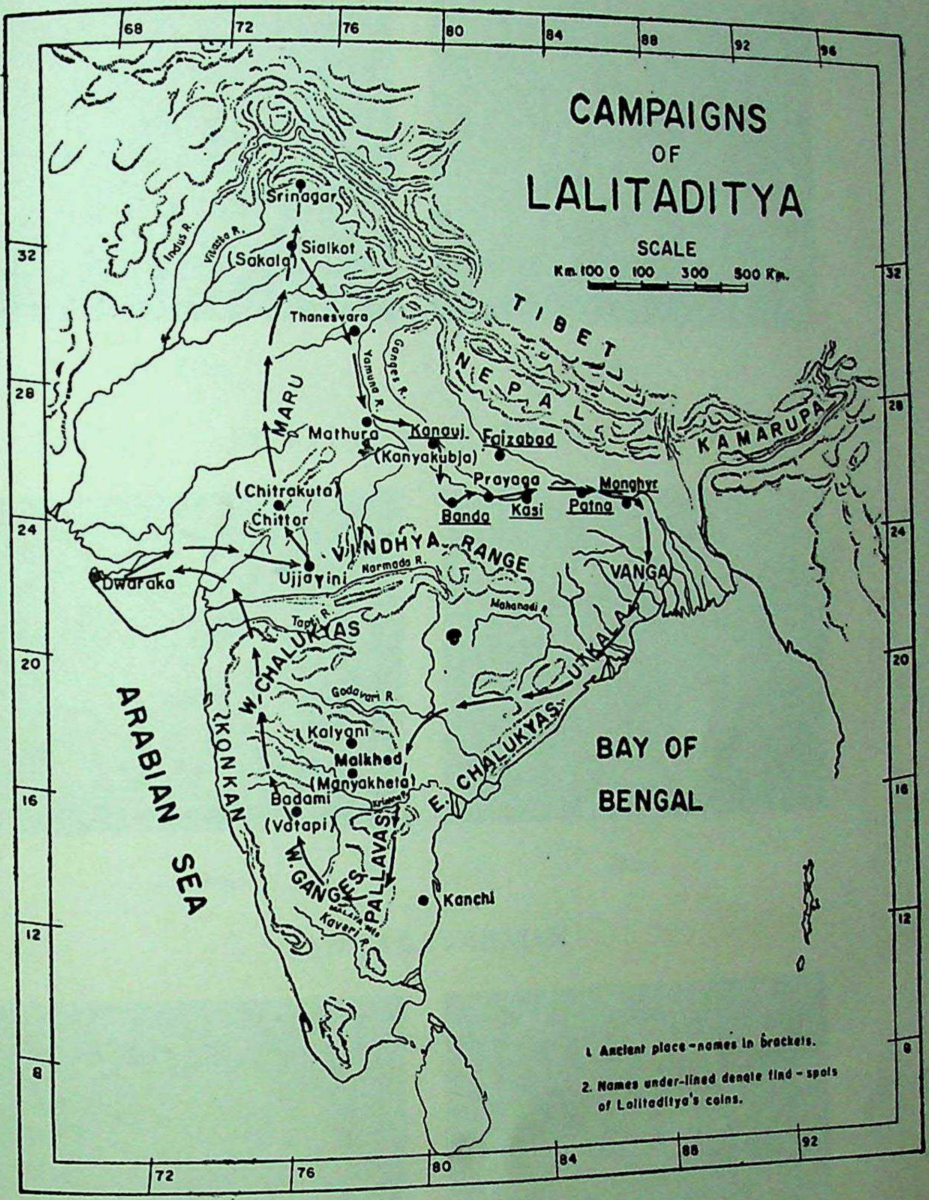
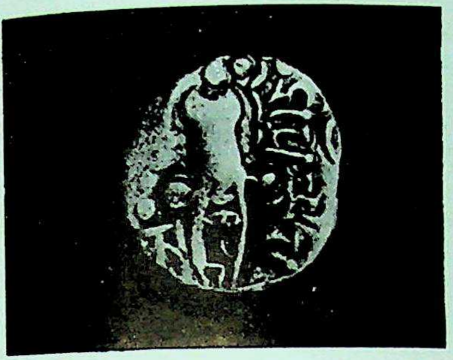

CAMPAIGNS
OF
LALITADITYA
SCALE
Km.100 0 100 300 500 Km.
68
72
76
80
84
88
92
96
32
28
24
20
16
12
8
Indus R.
Vitasta R.
Srinagar
Sialkot
(Sakala)
Thanesvara
Yamuna R.
Ganges R.
MARU
Mathura
Kanauj
(Kanyakubja)
Faizabad
Prayaga
Banda
Kasi
Patna
Monghyr
TIBET
NEPAL
KAMARUPA
(Chitrakuta)
Chittor
VINDHYA RANGE
Narmada R.
Ujjayini
Dwaraka
Tapti R.
Mahanadi R.
VANGA
UTKALA
W. CHALUKYAS
Godavari R.
Kalyani
Malkhed
(Manyakheta)
Badami
(Vatapi)
Krishna R.
E. CHALUKYAS
PALLAVAS
W. GANGES
MALAYA MTS
Kaveri R.
Kanchi
KONKAN
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
1. Ancient place-names in brackets.
2. Names under-lined denote find-spots of Lalitaditya's coins.

Plate I

COINS OF KASHMIR

PRATĀPĀDITYA



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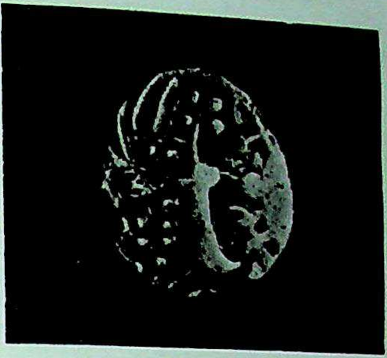
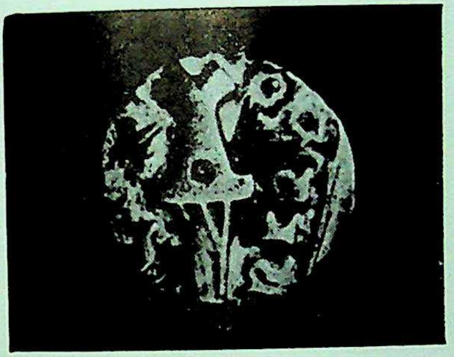


Rev.

JAYĀPĪḌA VINAYĀDITYA



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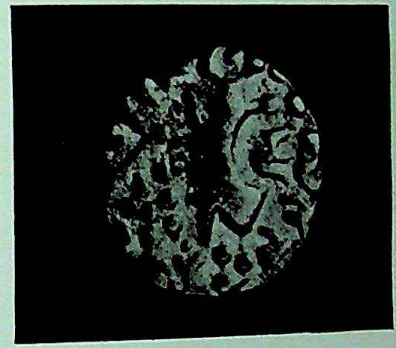
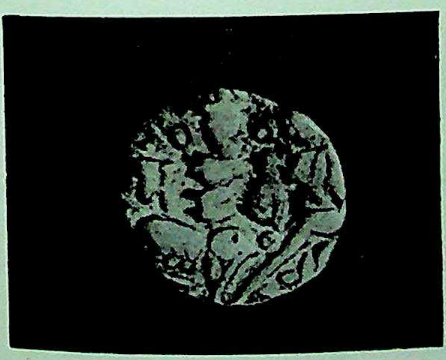


Rev.

ŚAṄKARAVARMAN



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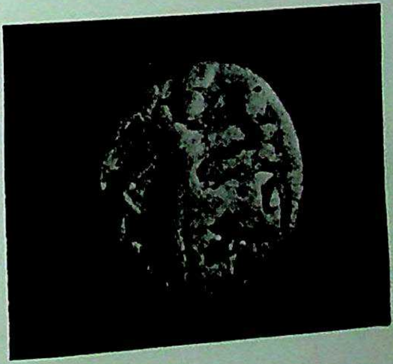

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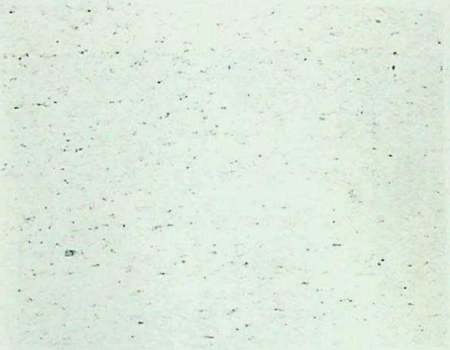
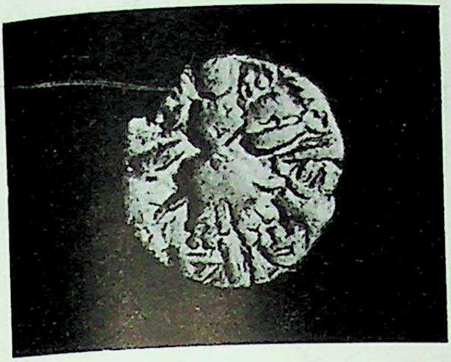


SUGANDHĀ (QUEEN)



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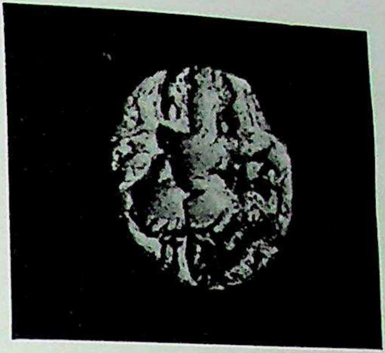

Rev.

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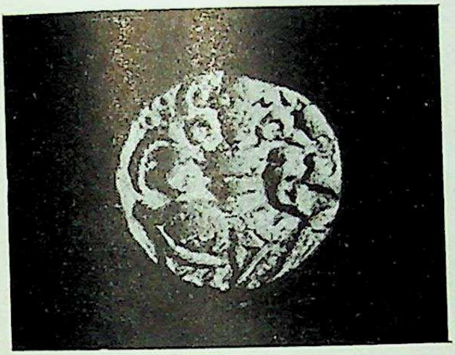

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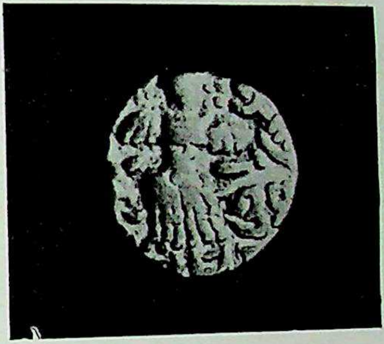
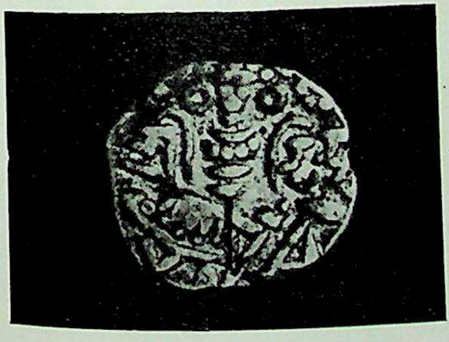


Rev.

DIDDĀ (QUEEN)



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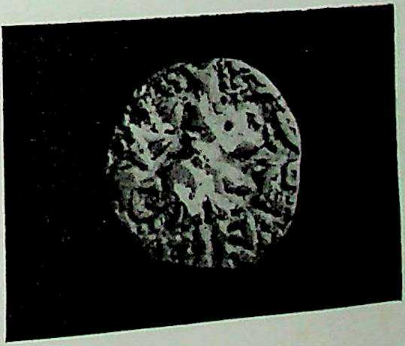

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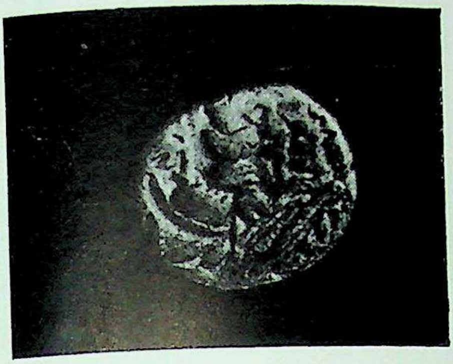
Plate III

ANANTA



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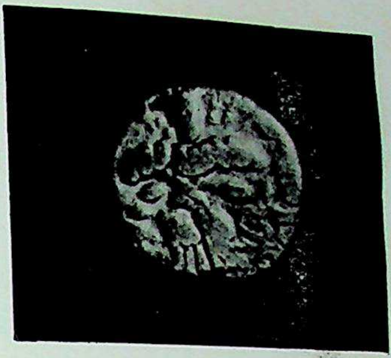

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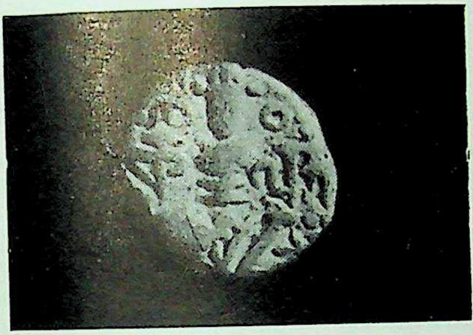
KALAŚA



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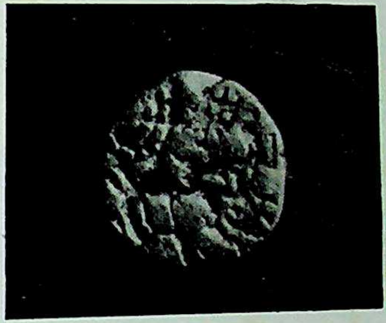

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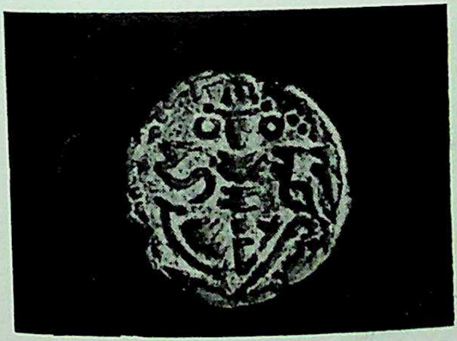
HARSHA



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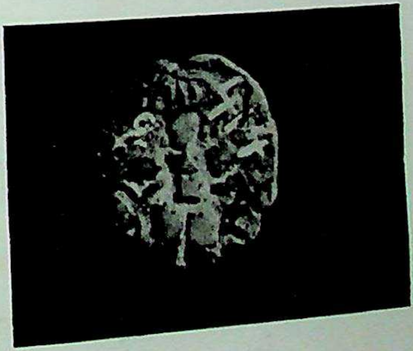

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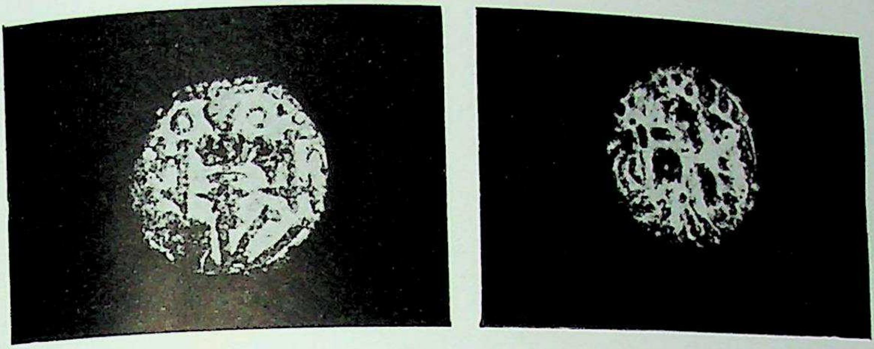
SUSSALA



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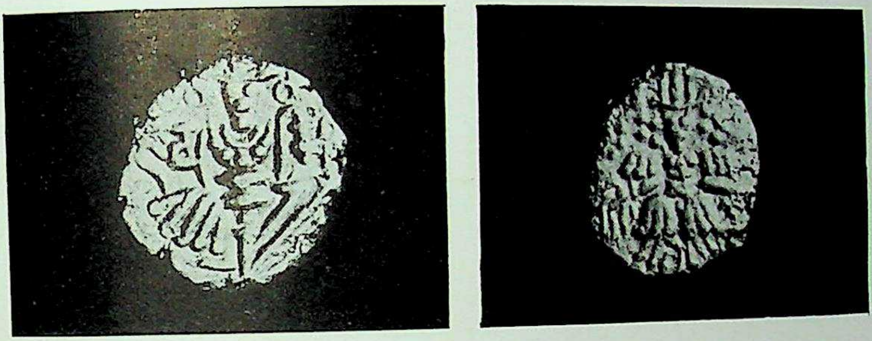

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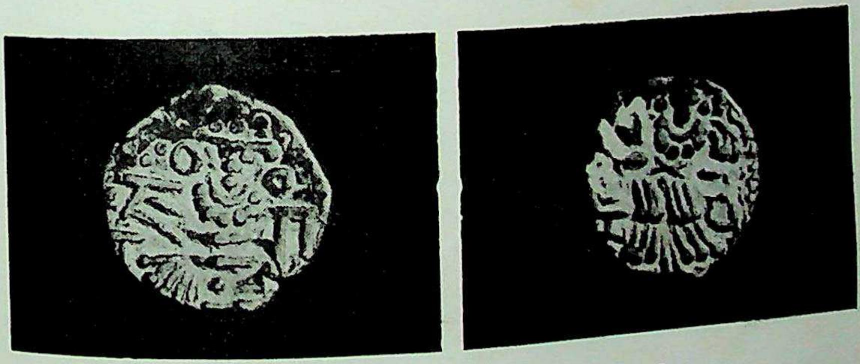

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INDEX

Abbasid Caliphs, 108.
Abhayarāja, ruler of Uraśā, 190.
Abhimanyu II, 145, 146, 151, 152, 153fn. 1, 158, 324.
Abhimanyu II, Death of, 151.
Abhimanyupura (mod. Bimyan), 26.
Abhinavagupta, 141.
Abhyankar, S. Y., 14.
ābhyantara (the court of the interior), 286, 303, 305.
Abul Fazl, 4, 27, 47, 300, 301.
Achalamaṅgala (Darad chief), 172, 173.
Acquamarines, 9.
Adhikaraṇa, 102fn. 1, 292, 303.
Adhikaraṇalekhaka, 303, 304, 312.
Adhirāja, 118, 229.
Āditya (title), 32, 33, 46, 103, 105.
Ādityavarman, 33.
Administration, 281-317.
Administration, Central, 287.
Administration, Provincial, 300.
Administration, Village, 301.
Administrative Reforms, 228.
Afghanistan, 80, 163.
Africa, 8, 160.
Āgamaḍambara Shaṇmatanāṭaka, 116, 320.
Agdus, a festival, 85.
Agrahāra (s), 21, 28, 30, 36, 103, 106, 137, 156, 247, 314, 315.
Agrawala, V.S., 46, 61, 89, 103, 104, 106, 319, 321.
Agryamantri, 292.
Ahikshetra, 71fn. 3.
Ain-i-Akbari, 4, 27, 47, 288 fn. 2, 300.
Aiyangar, S.K., 293.
Ajitāpīḍa, 107, 108, 109.
Ājivikas, 211 fn. 2.
Akbar, 51, 52.
Akshapaṭala, 129, 171 fn. 7, 304, 305,
Akshapaṭalādhīśa, 304.
Akshosuva, 247.
Alakhāna, 118.
Ala-ud-din, 81.
Alaṅkāra (royal commander), 270.
Alaṅkārachakra (Ḍāmara) 265, 266, 267, 269, 270.
Alberuni, 7, 10, 11, 46, 80, 85, 86, 122, 165.
Al-Biladhuri, 48.
ālekha, 313 fn. 2.
Alexander's invasion, 15.
Al-Hajjaj, 160.
Altekar, A.S., 67, 103, 104, 105, 106, 319, 321, 322.
Aluminium, 9.
Al-Utbi, 163.
Āma, 97.
Amareśvara, 244.
Amarnath, 7, 13.
āmātya, 293.
America, 8.
Amir (s), 149, 164 fn. 5.
Amirul-Mumenin, 164 fn. 5.
Amṛitakara, 131.
Amritaprabhā, queen of Meghavāhana, 30.

Amritaprabhā, queen of Raṇāditya, 35.

Amritabhavana, Vihāra, 30.

Amriteśvara, shrine, 35.

Ānanda, 140 fn. 5.

Ānanda (governor), 208, 217, 220, 221, 222

Ānanda, 220 fn. 10, 222.

Ānandapāla, Shāhi, 163, 164 fn. 2.

Ānandarāja, Yuvarāja of vallapura, 239.

Anangalekhā, wife of Durlabhavardhana, 35, 42, 46.

Aṅangapīḍa, 108, 109.

Ananta, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 191, 195, 206, 214, 284, 325.

Ananta, Administrative reforms by, 176.

Ananta, Khaśa uprising and conquests by, 177.

Ananta, Renunciation of throne by, 179.

Anchar, 7, 8.

Andha-Yudhisṭhira, 29, 30.

Andhra, 55.

Añjanādevī, wife of Toramāṇa, 32.

Antaroli Chharoli plates, 72.

Antarvedi (Doab) 62.

Anuśāriṇaḥ, 99.

apabhramśa, 120.

Aprāditya of Śilāhāra family, 264.

Aphsad inscription, 32, 33.

Arabs, 47, 48, 54, 55, 56, 75, 160, 298.

Aramaic inscription, 15.

Aramuḍi (Varadeva) 99, 100, 101.

Arjuna (koshṭha), 242 fn. 5.

Arthanāyakas, 212, 310.

—see also *nāyaka*.

Arthaśāstra, 19, 88 fn. 2, 289, 291.

Āryadeśa, 137 fn. 7.

Āryamañjuśrīmulkalpa, 63.

Āryānaka (Ariana, mod. East Iran), 86.

Āryāvarta, 52.

Āsamati, 239.

Āsaṭa, King of Champā, 190, 191 fn. 2.

Asia, 8, 51.

Asidhara, 209.

Aśoka, the Mauryan monarch, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 36, 51, 288, 298.

Aśokevśara, shrine, 16.

Assam, 30, 96.

āsthāna (Courts), 286, 304.

Āsthāniya, 304.

Aśvachandra, 179.

Aśvaghāsakāyastha, 41, 289, 308, 309.

Aśvaghosha, 24.

Aśvamedha, 63.

Atharvaveda, 38.

Aṭṭapatibhāga, 119, 303, 304, 316.

Augustus (Emperor), 51.

Aurangzeb, 51, 193.

Austen, Godwin, 4, 5.

Autumn, 9.

Avanāha (locality), 221, 261.

Avanti, 76.

Avantipura, 242, 249, 252.

Avantivarman, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 133, 134, 287, 314.

Avantivarman, Achievements of, 112.

Ayaśobhīta II (or III), 63.

Āyudha dynasty, 97.

Azes, 23.

Azilises, 23.

Babur, 52.

Bactrians (Bactrian Greeks), 15, 18, 19.
Badami, 67.
Baddhapur (a territory), 190.
Bagchi, P.C., 20.
Baghdad, 8, 121.
Bhāristan-i-Shāhi, 279.
bahī, 313.
Bahusthala, 265.
Bāhya, 286, 305.
Bāhyāli, 305.
Bahyarājasthīnadhikārabhak, 311.
Baka, 28, 282.
Bakāvati, Canal, 28.
Bakeśa, temple of Śiva, 28.
Bālāditya, son of Raṇāditya, 35, 40, 42, 43, 46.
Balha, Yuvarāja of Trigarta, 239.
bīlak, 153 fn. 1.
Ballavar (a territory), 10.
Bālaputradvea, 174 fn. 3.
Balsar plate, 72, 74, 75, 78.
Bamzai, P. N. K., 19, 22, 43, 82, 144, 191, 275, 300, 313, 315.
Bāṇa, 44, 45, 76, 80.
Bāṇaśālā, fort of, 257.
Banda, 46, 61, 62, 89, 104, 105, 318, 319.
Banerji, R.D., 95, 318.
Banerji, S.C., 9.
Banihal Pass, 3, 10.
Bapat, P.V., 20, 24, 26, 298.
Bappā Rāwal (Kālabhoja or Khummāṇa), 77, 78, 84.
Bappanila, 261.
Bappaṭa, 189.
Bappaṭadevī, Wife of Nirjitavarman, 127, 128.
Bappiya or Bappiyaka, 92, 93, 108, —see also Vajrāditya.
Baramula, 4, 5, 6, 7, 22, 25, 47.
Baṛha Kutra (in Banda), 39.
Barley, 9.
Barua, B. M., 15, 17, 18, 19.
Basak R. G., 54.
Bazaz, P. N., 122, 147.
Beal, S., 2, 4, 11, 15, 18, 25, 27, 37, 41, 44.
Beas (R), 2.
Bedia-ud-din, 31.
begar, 302.
Bengal (or Rāḍha), 53, 62, 63, 74, 79, 96, 97.
Beni Prasad, 292, 301 fn., 9, 304, 305.
Bernier, F., 4.
Bhadra dynasty, 63.
Bhadrāvakāśa (mod. Bhadravāh), 10.
Bhadreśvera, 162, 168.
Bhagadatta dynasty, 63.
Bhagavadagītā, 114.
Bhagvanlal Indraji, 73.
Bhīgvata Purāṇa, 39.
Bhāgika, Khaśa Chief, 257.
Bhallaṭa, 120 fn. 3.
Bhāṅgila, 186.
Bhandarkar, D. R., 15.
Bhāṇda-Yajña, 40 fn. 6.
Bharatasetu, 221.
Bhartula (Vartula), 177.
Bharṭṭrimeṇtha, poet, 33, see also Meṇtha.
Bhauṭṭas, 12, 73, 83, 300.
Bhāsarvajña, 264 fn. 5.
Bhauṭṭaland (Little and Great), 12.
Bhau Daji, 32.
Bhavabhūti, 60, 86.
Bhavagaṇā (or Bhavanāgā), 68, 69.
bherī (Kettledrum), 290.
Bhikshāchara, son of Bhoja and grandson of Harsha, 10, 231, 232, 239, 241, 243, 244, 246,

247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 256, 257, 258, 276.
Bhikshāchara's Appearance, 243.
Bhikshus, 30, 31.
Bhīma, the Shāhi ruler, 143, 144, 155.
Bhīmādeva, 228, 230.
Bhīmagupta, son of Abhimanyu, 152 fn. 6, 153 fn. 1, 154, 325.
Bhīmakeśava, temple of, 144, 211.
Bhīmapāla (Shāhi), 163, 164,
Bhīmasena, 98, 99.
Bhogasena, 233, 234, 235.
Bhoja, (son of Dunduka of Kanauj), 97.
Bhoja, (Paramāra), 174 fn. 3, 178, 181 fn. 3.
Bhoja, (son of Harsha), 223, 225, 226, 239.
Bhoja (son of Salhaṇa), 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272.
Bhojadeva (son of Kalaśa), 224, 230, 231.
Bhojaprabandha, 174 fn. 3.
Bhoṭa, 264 fn. 3.
bhṛityaratna, 192 fn. 5.
Bhūbhaṭa, 131, 141, 142, 146.
Bhūteśa, 21, 114.
Bhūteśvara, shrine of, 29, 114.
Bhuvanarāja (son of Kshitirāja of Lohara), 181, 206, 207.
Bhuvanarāja, Uprising of, 206.
Bhuyya 154, 296.
Bihar, 53, 79, 319.
Bijja, (Shāhi), 182, 183, 187, 188.
Bijjalā, (queen of Uchchala), 232, 233.
Bilhaṇa, 172, 173, 177, 178, 181, 205, 212,
Bimba, (nephew of Haladhara), 177.
Bimba, 246, 247, 248.
Bolyāsaka (mod. Buliasa), 11.
Bomba, 12.
Bopadeva, 277, 278.
Bose, N. S., 40. 164 fn. 2.
Brāhmaṇa (s), 22, 28, 36, 41 fn. 4, 45, 50, 54, 103, 110, 114, 133, 136, 137, 140 fn. 5, 146, 156, 157, 161, 173, 184, 206, 217, 223, 243, 245, 247, 248, 271, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 302, 308, 310.
Brāhmaṇa (s), of Gandhāra, 2[illegible].
Brāhmaṇa (s), of Kashmir, 28, 292.
Brāhmaṇa (s), of Rauhitadeśa, 47.
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, 39.
Brahmanical revolt, 20, 25, 162.
Brahmarāja (Ḍāmara), 172.
Briggs, J., 165.
Bṛihadgañja, 307.
Bṛihadganjādhipa, 307.
Bṛihaspati, 41.
Bṛihaspati, 107, see also Chippaṭa-jayāpīḍa.
Brown, P., 23.
Buddha, Lord, 17, 25, 43, 143, 211.
Buddhism, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 28, 30, 36, 37, 40, 43, 109, 268 fn. 3, 298.
Buddhist Legends, 4, 15, 18.
Buddhist Missionaries, 13, 17.
Bühler, G., 43, 46, 58 fn. 4.
Bulla (grandson of Tanvaṅga), 210.
bunds, 135.
Burn, R., 61.
Burns, A., 84.
Bu-ston, 63.

Caesar, 31, 51.
Caṭas, 41 fn. 4.
Central Asia, 51, 82, 291
Chach, (ruler of Sindh) 48, 54.

Chach-nāmā, 48, 84.
Chāhmānas, 38, 275
Chakradhara (pura mod. Tsakdar), 86, 181, 249.
Chaityas, 15, 24, 34.
Chakrāyudha of Kanauj, 97.
Chakravarman, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 323.
Chalagañja (mobile tramway), 102, 303, 307.
Chālukyas, 38, 53, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 80, 212.
Chālukyas of (Badami) Vātāpi, 55, 67, 68, 69.
Chālukyas, Eastern, 55.
Chālukyas, of Vengī, 67.
Chamba Copper Plates, 191.
Champā (mod. Chamba), 10, 174 fn. 3, 177, 178, 190, 191, 239, 251, 300.
Champā, matrimonial relations with, 10.
Champāraṇa, 264 fn. 4.
Chandaka (Chandra, Chandragopin), 29 fn. 8, 203.
Chanda, R. P., 95.
Chaṇḍāla, 98, 206, 231.
Chandalā, (Chandralekhā), 212.
Chandellas, 38, 40, 62, 164 fn. 5.
Chandrabhāgā, 117 fn. 1.
Chandrāchārya, 26, 36.
Chandragomin, 26, 29.
Chandragupta Maurya, 52.
Chandragrāma, 45.
Chandralekhā, (wife of Kshemagupta), 144, 145.
Chandrakulyā (R.), 28.
Chandrāpīḍa, 46, 47, 56 fn. 2, 82, 298. see also Vajrāditya.
Chandrāpīḍa, sought help against Arabs from Chinese Emperor, 47.
Chandrarāja (descendant of Jindurāja), 222, 224.
Chāndravyākraṇa, 26.
Chaṇkuṇa, (Tuḥkhāra minister of Lalitāditya), 80, 81, 291 fn. 4.
Chaṇpaka, 214.
Charlemagne, 51.
Charles V, 51.
Chattopadhyaya, S., 33, 44.
Chatushka, 269, 270, 271.
Chaulukyas, 275.
Chavannes, E and Levi, S, 61 see also Levi, S.
Checks and Limitations, 285.
Chenab (R.), 2, 9.
Chhavillākara, 23, 26.
Chilas, 12.
Chin, 31. see also China.
China, 1, 43, 51, 298.
Chīnabhukti (mod. Chinbhuk in Punjab), 298.
Chinese Annals, 43, 47, 56 fn. 2, 82, 298.
Chinese 'dotted record', 17.
Chinese Pilgrim, 11, 25, 29, 36, 43, 44, 298. see also Hiuen Tsang.
Chippaṭajayāpīḍa, 107, see also Bṛihaspati.
Chitramāya, (Pallava), 69, 70.
Chittor (Chitrakūṭa), 77, 80.
Chitraratha, 260.
Chobdar, 312.
Chola, 28.
Chhoja, 131, 142, 146.
Chhalitaka (City-prefect), 295.
Christian Topography, 27.
Chromite, 9.
Chronicle, 3, 4, 6, 8, 12, 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 41, 45, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 72, 73, 78, 88, 90, 93, 94, 95, 99, 101, 102, 105, 106, 114, 116, 117, 119, 124, 125,

126, 128, 132, 136, 137 fn. 7, 144, 151, 153 fn. 1, 155, 161, 163, 165, 168, 173, 174 fn. 3, 175, 177, 178, 182, 192, 193, 202, 207, 254, 291, 293, 294, 295, 300, 301, 303, 304, 305, 307, 310, 312, 313, 315, 316.
Chuḍḍa, (City-prefect), 231, 232, 233.
Climate, 3, 7, 8, 9.
Coins, 318-26.
Coins, Copper, 62, 318, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325.
Coins, Gold, 33, 318, 320, 321, 322.
Coins, Silver, 23, 29, 62, 318.
Cowell, E. B., 81.
Crop Products, 9.
Cunningham, A., 11, 22, 23, 25, 29, 43, 44, 144, 178, 204, 206, 233, 276 fn. 4, 277, 318, 319.
Cuttack, 63.

Dabgao, 7.
Dāhir (ruler of Sindh).
Dainelli, 5.
Dakshiṇātyas, 75.
Dal, (citylake) 6, 7.
Ḍāmaras, 87, 114, 130, 131, 132, 143, 150, 151, 157 fn. 9, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 186, 189, 197, 203, 204, 214, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 225, 226, 227, 228, 233, 235, 236, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 256, 257, 261, 265, 267, 268, 270, 271, 279, 280, 294.
Ḍāmara Uprising, 171
Damascus, 8.
Dāmodara II, 21, 22.
Dāmodaragupta, 288 fn. 1, 316.
Dāmodaragupta Copper Plate inscription of Kumāragupta I, 41 fn. 4.
Dāmodara-Sūda, 22.
Dānapaṭṭaka, 305, 313.
daṇḍanāyaka, 213, 305.
daṇḍādhikārin, 242.
Dantidurga (Rashṭrakūṭa), 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 75.
Darad (s), 3, 12, 73, 116, 119, 168, 169, 172, 173, 177, 203, 214, 215, 216, 230, 265, 267, 268, 269.
Darad deśa, 12, 83.
Darad land, 2, 230, 300.
Darpitapura, 206, 259.
Daratpurī, 203.
Darius I, 86 fn. 2.
Dārvābhisāra, 109, 117 fn. 1, 120, 177, 300.
Daśārṇa (Eastern Malwa), 106.
Daśāvatāracharita, 288 fn. 1.
Dayal, P., 61, 89, 103, 104, 105.
Deccan, 55, 64, 65, 67, 75, 79, 80.
Ḍemb, 20.
De Terra, H., and Patterson, T.T., 4.
Demetrius, 22.
Deṅgapāla, 239.
Deśopadeśa, 288 fn. 1.
Devagupta, 141.
Devapāladeva (Pāla king), 174 fn. 3.
Deva Śāhi khingila, 29.
Devaśarman, (son of Mitraśarman), 94, 96, 99.
Devasarasa, 243, 268, 271.
Devīchakra, 21.
'*ḍhakka*', 3.
Dhamma-Mahāmātras, 16.
Dhammaṭa, 203, 209, 210.
dhanādhyaksha, 302, 305.
Dhanva, (Ḍāmara), 114.

Dhanya, 262, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273.
Dhārā, 174 fn. 3.
Dharmādhikaraṇa, 101, 102 fn. 1, 306.
Dharmādhyaksha, 306.
Dharmapāla, 97, 98.
Dharmārka, 162.
Dharma-Vivardhana, 18.
dhīsachiva, 293.
Dhṛitarāshṭra, 18.
Dhruva, 68.
Diddā, 143, 144, 167, 169, 291, 294, 296, 299, 324, 325.
Diddā, influence of, 144, 145, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 161.
Diddā, as a queen, 155.
Diddā, appointment of Sangrāmarāja as yuvarāja by, 158.
Diddā, an Estimate, 158,
digvijaya, 52, 64, 65, 75, 85.
Dilha, 259.
Dinnāgrāma, 270.
Dīnnāras, 32, 113, 126, 259, 295, 318.
Dīnnāravyavahāra, 273.
Diodotus, 104.
Dīpavamsa, 16, 17.
divira, 306, 307, 312.
Dogras, 10.
Ḍomba, (a low-caste of menials) 130, 131 fn. 1, 206, 283.
Ḍomba, 210.
draṅga, 3, 120 fn. 7.
Drāva, 12.
Drew, F, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8.
Dudganga, 7.
Dugar, 10.
Dugdha ghāta, 214, 216, 217, 267.
Dunduka, 97.
Durāṇḍa, 12,
durbars (courts), 286.
Durbar-i-Am, 305.
Durbar-i-Khas, 305.
Durgādevī, 92.
Durga Prasad, 92.
Durlabhaka, or Durlabha, 47, 50, 52, 55, 319.
Durlabhaka, Pratāpāditya II, title of, 46, 283.
Durlabhaka, Copper coins of, 46, 319, 321.
Durlabhavardhana (Prajñāditya), 35, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 289, 298, 309, 321.
Durlabhavardhana, Coins of, 44.
Durlabhavardhana, and Harshavardhana, 44.
Dūtas, 313.
Dutta, J. C., 276.
Dutta, R. C., 19.
Dvāra, 3, 20, 120 fn. 7.
Dvārādhikāra, 306.
Dvārādhikārin, 306.
Dvārādhiśvara, 306.
Dvāranāyaka, 306.
dvārādhipa, 301.
dvārapati, 294.
Dvijapārshad, 310.
Dvitīyarājataraṅgiṇī, 288 fn. 1.

Earthquakes, 9.
Egypt, 160.
Ekāṅgas, 124 fn. 3, 125, 128, 130, 132, 133, 134, 141, 148, 170, 171, 283, 287.
Elliot and Dowson, 163.
Ellora Plate, 71.
Era, Gupta, 41 fn. 4.
Era, Laukika, 14.
Europe, 5, 160.
Execution of Madana, 216.
Execution of Garga, 239.

Expedition against Rājapurī, 241.

Fa-hien, 18.
Faizabad, 61, 62 fn. 2, 89, 319.
Famine, the Great, 126.
Father Kosmos, 27.
Fez, 8.
Firishta, 11, 165.
Fleet, J.F., 58 fn. 4, 66, 290.
Foreign accounts, Arabs, 38.
Foreign accounts, Chinese, 38.
Foreign Relations, 297.
Fourth Buddhist Council, 24.
Fresh attempt by Bhikshachara, 249.
Fresh Attempt by Koshṭheśvara, 263.

Gagga (brother of Janakachandra), 228.
Gaggachandra (the royal Commander), 229.
Gāhaḍavālas, 38, 105, 264, 275.
Gajjaka, 242.
Gambhīrā (R), 251, 256.
Gambhīrasīha, 190.
Gandhāra, 16, 17, 19, 28, 30, 36.
Ganga (R.), 56, 59, 60 fn. 6, 62, 145, 256.
Gangas (dynasty), 55, 70, 72, 75.
Gangbal, 7.
Ganguly, D.C., 66, 67, 122, 164, 166, 177 fn. 3, 278.
Gañja, 307, 317.
Gañjavara, 307.
Gañjadivira, 306.
Gañjeśa, 307.
Gaṇanāpatrikā, 313.
Gardizi, 163, 165, 166.
Garga (Chandra), Ḍāmara Chief, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 256, 268.
Garga, Ascendancy of, 235.
Gauḍa, 54, 63, 65, 88, 89, 94, 95, 101, 105, 188, 264 fn. 4, 298, 299.
Gauḍavaho, 53, 54, 57 fn. 2, 58, 66.
Gauraka, 240.
Ganga, 209.
Gayāpāla, 272.
German, 31.
Ghosha, 24.
Ghoshal, U.N., 298, 300.
Ghulams, 149.
Gilgit, 268 fn. 3.
Goetz, H., 23, 64, 69, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 90, 177.
Godhara, 313.
Gokarṇa, 28.
Gollas, 27.
Gonanda III, 27.
Gonanda dynasty, 35, 40, 42, 43.
Gopāditya, 28, 30.
Gopāla (King of Gauḍa), 89 fn. 1, 95, 97.
Gopal, Lallanji, 116, 122, 236, 276, 318, 319, 322, 324, 326.
Gopālvarman, 120, 121, 122, 133, 299, 320, 323.
Gopālvarman, Death of, 123.
Govindchandra, 106, 264.
Grāmadiviras, 301, 302, 312.
Grāmakāyasthas, 301 fn. 9, 302, 308, 315, 317.
Greeks, 7, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 31, 86, see also Mlechchhas
Gṛihakṇitya, 119, 129, 162, 303, 307, 316.
Gṛihakṛityādhikāra, 307.
Gṛihakṛityādhikārin, 307.
Guḍḍasetu, 22, 314.
Guhilas, 53, 77.
Gujrat, 81.
Gulhaṇa (son of Jayasiṁha), 264, 272.

Gulla (grandson of Tanvaṅga), 210.
Guṇalekhā (queen of Jayasiṁha), 276.
Guṅga, 215 fn. 3.
Guptas, 25, 32, 33, 41 fn. 4, 52, 78, 86, 101, 305, 319.
Gupta, P.L., 318.
Gurjara-Pratīhāras, 38, 40, 53, 55, 76, 77, 97, 98, 115 fn. 1, 117, 118, 299.
Gypsum, 9.

Hāḍigrāma, 263.
Habib, M., 163, 166.
Haladhara, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 294.
Hammīra, 164 fn. 5.
Haramukh, 6.
Harigaṇa, 117.
Harirāja, 169.
Hariśchandra, 57 fn. 2.
Hariṣeṇa, 305.
Harivaṁśa Purāṅa, 83, 97.
Harsha (son of Kalaśa), 180, 184, 185, 186, 192-225, 227, 231, 239, 282, 285, 286, 297, 310, 320, 321, 326.
Harsha, the policy of appeasement of, 200.
Harsha, Administrative reforms of, 201.
Harsha, The Royal Court and its splendour, 205.
Harsha, Exactions of Harsha, 211.
Harsha, Death of, 225.
Harshacharita, 41, 44, 45, 81.
Harshadeva, 320.
Harshagupta, 33.
Harshaguptā, 33.
Harshamitra, 249.
Harshaṭa, 262.
Harshavardhana, 32, 41, 43, 44, 45, 52, 53, 57, 63, 80, 191, 298.
Harshavardhana and Kashmir, 44, 45.
Harsha Vikramāditya, 32, 33.
Harun-Al-Rashid, 51.
Haryana, 46.
Hastivañja, 27.
Havyaga (north Kanara), 71 fn. 3.
Hayagrīvavadha, 33.
Hāyāśrama, 270.
Himalayas, 1, 9, 26, 33, 57, 60 fn. 6, 81.
Himanchal Pradesh, 1, 52 fn. 2.
Himmaka, 148.
Hindu (s), 7, 10, 12, 13, 31, 38, 48, 87, 88, 170, 210, 275.
Hiraṇya, 31, 32.
Hiraṇyāksha, 27.
Hiraṇyapura, 222.
Hiraṇyavarman, 69.
Hisham-ibn-Amr-al-Taghlibi, 48.
Hitahita (foster brother of Sussala), 235.
Hitler, 52.
Hiuen Tsang, 2, 4, 11, 12, 15, 25, 32, 34, 36, 41, 43, 44, 284, 298.
Hiuen Tsung, 82.
Holaḍā, 217, 271.
Hoksar, 7.
Horner, I. B, 22.
Hui-Ch'ao (Korean Traveller), 57 fn. 2.
Hultzsch, E, 92.
huṇḍikā, 126.
Hu-Suan, 51.
Huvishka (Hushka) 23, 24, 25, 26.
Huvishkapura (Hushkpura, mod. Huskur or Uskur), 25, 124, 220, 248.
Hydaspas (R. Jhelum), 7.
Hyphasis (R. Beas), 2. see also Beas.

Ince, J., 7, 8, 9.
India, 3, 7, 38, 52.
India, Central, 54, 57, fn. 2, 298.
India, Eastern, 52, 61, 62, 96.
India, Northern, 52, 54, 58, 61 fn. 6, 63, 75, 80, 89, 97, 109.
India, South, 55, 65.
India, Western, 55, 79.
Indians, 15.
Indo-Greek Rule, 23.
Indra I (son of Karkka), 68.
Indrajit, 27.
Indrāyudha of Kanauj, 97, 98.
Indus (R), 2, 11, 12, 91, 113, 120, 122, 176.
Iran, 86 fn. 2.
Iran, Eastern, 86.
Iridige, 71 fn. 3.
Irrigation, 22, 28, 134-35, 313-314.
Islam, 52, 211 fn. 2.
Islamabad, 5, 7.

Jagaddala (Darad chief), 230, 231.
Jagadeva, 280 fn. 2, 326.
Jhelum (R.), 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 91, 126, 176, 183, 203, 303. see also Vitasta
Jaikadeva, 76.
Jain Rājataraṅgiṇī, 279.
Jajja, 93, 98, 99, 104, 105.
Jālandhara, 24, 52, 57 fn. 2, 170.
Jalauka (son of Aśoka), 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 288. 289, 290, 291, 295, 302, 305, 306, (see also Kuṇāla, Suyaśa and Dharma Vivardhana).
Jalaukas, 27.
Jammu, 2, 277.
Jamuna (R.), 62.
Janaka, 14.
Janaka (minister of Paramāṇuka), 276.
Janakachandra (Ḍāmara chief), 222, 225, 227, 228.
Janakrāja, 268.
Janakasimha, 245, 246, 247, 248, 296, 297.
Jan-Yun-Hua, 57 fn. 2.
Jarret, H. S., 4, 27.
Jasarāja, 187.
Jāsaṭa of Champā, 239.
Jassaka (Yaśaska), 279.
Jayachandra of Kanauj, 106.
Jayachandra (son of Gargachandra), 268.
Jayadatta, 102, 290.
Jayadeva II, (the Lichchhavi King of Nepal), 101.
Jayādevī (Concubine of Lalitāpīḍa), 107, 108 fn. 2.
Jayaghanṭa (bell or gong) 290.
Jayākaragañja, 307.
Jayamalla (son of Vijayamalla), 210.
Jayamatī, 231, 232, 233.
Jayānanda, 183, 187, 188.
Jayānandavāḍa, 270.
Jayanta (king of Gauḍa), 94, 95, 96, 97, 299.
Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, 116, 320.
Jayapāla (Shāhi), 163.
Jayāpīḍa, 60, 88, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109, 110, 116, 119, 284, 290, 298, 299, 318, 320, 321, see also Vinayāditya.
Jayāpīḍa, army of, 93.
Jayāpīḍa, Details of the campaign of, 94.
Jayāpīḍa in Bengal, 94.
Jayāpīḍa, Subjugation of Kanauj by, 96.
Jayāpīḍa, Further conquests and adventures of, 98.

Jayāpīḍa, Invasion of Nepal by, 99.
Jayāpīḍa, Tyrannies and oppression of, 102.
Jayāpīḍa, Coins of, 103.
Jayarāja (son of Kalaśa), 195, 196, 198, 202, 209.
Jayarāja (grandson of Tanvanga), 210.
Jayarāja, 268.
Jayīrtidhana, 65.
Jayasimha (son of Sussala), 230, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 276, 297, 307, 316, 326.
Jayasimha, Relations with contemporary chieftains and Rulers, 264.
Jayasimha, Intervention into the Darad affairs by, 265.
Jayasimha, The Peaceful years of, 272.
Jayasimha II (Chālukya), 66.
Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja, 72.
Jayaswal, K. P., 63, 100, 101.
Jayendra, 29.
Jayendravihāra, 142.
Jayyaka, 186.
Jehangir, 155.
Jina, 15.
Jindurāja, 182, 183, 188, 294.
Jīvitagupta, 33, 54.
Jodhpur, 77.
Jonarāja, 12, 273, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 288.
Jushka [Vaj (h) eshka], 23, 25.
Jushkapura, 25. (see also Vaj (h) eshkapura.
Justin, 15.
Jyeshṭha-Rudra, 21.
Jyotiralingas, 76.
Kabul, 43, 84.
Kādambarī, 76.
Kadambas, 55.
Kahmila (R.), 271.
Kaiser William III, 51.
Kak, R.C., 321, 324.
Kakas, 220.
Kalachuris, 38, 53.
Kālagaṇḍikā (R) (mod. Kali Gandak), 99, 101.
Kalaśa, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 205, 206, 214, 230, 282, 286, 294, 299, 325.
Kalaśa, Administrative Reforms of, 186.
Kalaśa, and Harsha, 185.
Kalaśa, assumes state responsibilities, 183.
Kalaśa, Death of, 194.
Kalaśa, Estimate of, 194.
Kalaśa, Foreign Expeditions of, 189.
Kalaśa, Invasion of Uraśā by, 189.
Kalaśa, Last days of, 193.
Kalaśa, takes to evil ways, 182.
Kalaśa of Vallāpura, 190.
Kalaśagañja, 188.
Kalaśarāja, 210.
Kalaśeśvara, 210.
Kalha, 221, 230.
Kalhaṇa, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41 fn. 4, 46, 47, 49, 50, 59, 61, 62, 64, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 109, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 128, 132, 133, 137, 140, 141, 151, 152, 153, fn. 1, 155, 158, 159, 169,

171, 173, 174, 177, 181 fn. 3, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 198, 200, 201, 204, 205, 206, 210, 211, fn. 2, 213, 226, 230, 231, 237, 241, 253, 254, 255, 273, 275, 276, 281 fn. 2, 282, 284, 288, 289, 290, 291, 296, 298, 301, 302, 303, 304, 306, 315.
Kalhaṇikā (queen of Jayasimha), 271.
Kālidāsa, 76.
Kālikā (R.), 58, 59, fn. 3
Kalinga, 61, 62, 63, 72, 264 fn. 4.
Kāliñjara, 11, 218, 230, 247, 259.
Kallaṭa (name of Jayāpīḍa), 94.
Kalyāṇachandra, 240.
Kalyānadevī (wife of Jayāpīḍa), 95, 102, 107.
Kalyāṇapura, 254, 269.
Kalyāṇī, 205.
Kalyapāla, 107, 111.
Kamboja, 72, 73, 83.
Kāmadeva (father of Yaśaskara), 136.
Kamalādevī (queen of Lalitāditya), 90.
Kamalavardhana, 126, 132, 133, 294.
Kamalavardhana, and contemporary Politics, 133.
Kamaluka, 299.
Kampana, 294, 308.
Kampanādhipati, 171, 308.
Kampanādhipa, 294, 308.
Kampanādhīśa, 308.
Kampaneśa, 294, 308.
Kampanodgrāhaka, 294, 308.
Kamraj, see Kramarājya.
Kanauj, 18, 20, 43, 44, 45, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 77, 79, 89, 91, 96, 97, 98, 104, 109, 117, 191, 298, see also Kānyakubja.
Kāñchī, 55, 70.
Kānda, 190.
Kandarpa, 189, 192, 197, 202, 203, 206, 207, 209, 213, 214.
Kane, P. V., 41 fn. 4, 58 fn. 4, 69, 301 fn. 9. 303, 312.
Kanebal, 7.
Kangra (Trigarta), 10, 117, 140 fn. 5, 268, fn. 4. see also Trigarta.
Kanishka, 23, 24, 25, 26, 36, 298.
Kanishkapura (mod. Kanispur), 25.
Kansu, 81.
Kānyakubja, 58, 59, 97. see also Kanauj.
Kāpardikadvīpa, 71 fn. 3.
Kapaṭeśvara, 174, fn. 3.
Kapila, 219.
Karā dynasty, 63. see also Bhagadatta.
Karambhak (Gold coin), 33.
Karashahr, 83, fn. 2.
Kārāṭa (mod. Karad in Satara district, 71 fn. 3.
Kardamarāja, 145.
Karewas, 5, 6, 7.
Karkarpoor, 7.
Karkka II (Rāhappa), 73,
'Karkoṭa,' 38, 39, 40, 46, 48, 50, 53. see also Śarkoṭa.
Karkoṭa Nāga, legend of the, 39, 40.
Kārkoṭa (s) dynasty, 36, 38, 39, 40, 90, 94, 97, 103, 106, 109, 111, 112, 113, 119, 134, 135, 160, 298, 309, 318, 321.
Kārkoṭas, at their zenith, 51, ff.
Kārkoṭa, empire, 46.
Kārkoṭas, the Decline of the, 90, 106.
Karkoṭa tīrtha, 39.
Karmasthānas, 19, 20, 102 fn. 1, 288, 292, 295, 802.
Karkuns, 41 fn. 4.
Karṇāha (mod. Karnau), 12.

Karṇapa, 115, 116.
Karṇāṭa, 28, 65, 204, 211, fn. 2.
Karnāṭaka, 212.
Karṇirathas (Karṇis), 80.
Karnau (R.) 12.
Karakoram range, 1.
Kashir (Kashmir), 2
Kashmir, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 ff.
Kashmir, army of, 3, 80.
Kashmir, Boundaries of ancient, 1, 10.
Kashmir, Climate of, 7.
Kashmir, Crop products of, 9.
Kashmir, (Kaspeiria, Kaspeiraeans, Kachemire, Kia-she-me-lo Ki-Pin) different names of, 2, 4, 22, 43.
Kashmir, earthquakes in, 9.
Kashmir, Karewas of, 5. see also Karewas.
Kashmir, lakes of, 4, 6.
Kashmir, Mineral wealth of, 9.
Kashmir, Physiographical features of, 1.
Kashmir, Political Boundaries of, 10.
Kashmir, Rivers of, 7.
Kashmir, Variety of the valley of, 6.
Kashur Darya, 7.
Kāshṭhavāta or Kashṭavar (mod. Kishtavar), 10, 12, 190, 277, 300.
Kaśyapa, 4.
Kaṭakavārika, 313.
Kathāsaritasāgar, 39.
Kathiawad, 65, 69.
Kaul, S. N., 278.
Katikā, 29.
Kaṭṭas, 80.
Kauṭilya, 20, 289, 291.
Kaveri (R.), 63, 65, 69, 70, 72, fn. 1.
Kāyastha, 41 fn. 4, 42, 103, 120, 132, 162, 170, 216, 217, 228, 301, fn. 9, 308, 309, 316.
Kayya (Karkka II), 72, 73, 83.
Kayyā (wife of Kalaśa), 195.
Kayyaka (royal warden), 151.
Kedāra, 318, 322.
Kerala, 71 fn. 3.
Kerātaha, 71 fn. 3.
Khaḍga dynasty, 54.
Khaṅkha, 35.
Khāri, 113, 126.
Kharoshṭhī script, 19.
Khārvela, 52.
Khaśas (mod. Khakhas), 3, 10, 12, 28, 143, 154, 177, 178, 219, 235, 251, 257, 306.
Khiṅkhila, 29. see also Narendrāditya.
Khota, 31.
Khotan, 19, 20, 268 fn. 3, 298.
Khotanese legend, 20.
Khotari, 31.
Khri-lde-btsug-bratan-mes-ag-tshoms (Tibetan king), 81.
Kielhorn, F., 58 fn. 4.
Kiṁnara, 27. see also Nara.
Kiṁnarapura, 27. see also Narapura.
Kimura, R., 24.
Kings and Kingship, 282-85.
Kings, Caste of, 283.
Kings, succession, 283.
Kings, Checks and Limitations, 285.
Kīras, 268 fn. 4.
Kīrtirāja of Baddhapura, 189, 190, 191.
Kīrtivarman II (Chālukya), 70, 75.
Kishenganga (Kṛishṇagaṅgā), 7, 12, 265.
Kitab Futuh al Buldan, 48 fn. 2.

Kitab Zainul Akhbar, 163, 165, 166.
Kitshome, 21.
Kokkili, 66, 67.
Kokuli-Vikramāditya-Bhaṭṭārka, 66, fn. 4.
Kollipara plates, 72, 74, 75, 73.
Koṅgoda, 63.
Koṅkaṇa, 65, 75, 264 fn. 4.
Koṅkaṇas, seven, 71 fn. 1.
Konsar Nag, 6.
Kośādhyaksha, 302, 303.
Koshṭheśvara, 261, 263.
Kotli, Rajas of, 11.
Kramarājya (Kamraz), 109, 217, 219, 220, 222, 231, 248, 270.
Kramāt, 171, fn. 7.
Krishnan, M.S., 6.
Kṛityā, 21.
Krityāśrama vihāra, 21.
Kshatriyas, 41, 43, 239, 283.
Kshema, 176.
Kshemagupta, 142, 143, 144, 145, 153 fn. 1, 155, 158, 298, 323.
Kshemagupta, marries Diddā, 143.
Kshemarāja (Ḍāmara), 267.
Kshemendra, 75, 288 fn. 1, 301, 306.
Kshillikā (grandmother of Chakravarman), 128.
Kshiptikā, 250, 251.
Kshira, 242.
Kshitinanda, 28.
Kshitirāja of Lohara, 181 fn. 3, 206.
Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana (Chālukya), 55.
Kucha, 83 fn. 2.
Kularāja (a soldier), 207.
Kularāja (city-prefect), 262, 297.
Kulindas, 2.
Kuṇāla, 15, 17, 18, 19. see also Jalauka, Suyaśa, Dharma Vivardhana.
Kuṇḍalas, 113.
Kuṇḍalavana Vihāra, 24.
Kurukshetra, 57, 239, 263.
Kushāṇa (s), 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 298, 319.
Kushāṇas and Kashmir, 23, 219.
Kustana, 20, 298.
Kuvalayāpīḍa, 90, 91, 92.

Labdhvādeśaṁ Tasmāt, 26.
Ladakh, 2, 268 fn. 3.
Lahangā, 204.
Laḥkhaṇa, 34. see also Narendrāditya
Lahore, 174 fn. 3, 264 fn. 4.
Lake (s), 4, 5, 6.
Lakkaka, 236.
Lakkanachandra, 214.
Lakshamaka, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261.
Lakshmīdhara, 218.
Lalitāditya, 11, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57 fn. 2, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 98, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109, 110, 112, 116, 119, 136, 160, 284, 286, 289, 290, 291, 293, 298, 302, 309, 315, 319, 321.— see also Muktāpīḍa
Lalitāditya, army of, 80.
Lalitāditya, Campaigns in Central Asia of, 82.
Lalitāditya, Coins of, 62.
Lalitāditya, Conquest of, 56.
Lalitāditya, Conquest of Kanauj by, The First Encounter, 56.
Lalitāditya, Conquest of Kanauj by, The Second Encounter, 58,

Lalitāditya, Conquest in Western India and the Truimphal return, 76, 78.
Lalitāditya, Contemporary political conditions, 52.
Lalitāditya, Death of, 86.
Lalitāditya, His manifold Qualities and Code of Ethics, 87.
Lalitāditya, seeks Chinese help, 82.
Lalitāditya, Southern Conquests and the Last days of, 64, 75, 78.
Lalitāpīḍa (son of Jayāpīḍa), 106, 107.
Lalla, 138.
Lalliya (Shāhi), 118, 119, 122.
Lāmā Tāranāth, 63.
Lamghan, 163.
Lassen, 92.
Lāṭa, 28, 71 fn. 3, 72.
Latin, 31.
Lavaṇotsa, 28, 197.
Lavanyas, 217, 248, 263, 279.—see also Ḍāmaras
Lawrence, W., 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
Lekhaka, 41 fn. 4.
Lekhādhikārin, 312, 313.
Lekhas, 313.
Lekhahārakas, 313.
Lekhapālas, 301.
Levi, S., 29, 61, 100.
Lichchhavi, 101.
Liddar (R), 7.
Liddar valley, 7.
Lignite, 9.
Local Rule, 26.
Lohara (s), 10, 11, 41, 143, 144, 154, 158, 159, 160, 170, 181, 190, 191, 196, 201, 203, 206, 207, 208, 209, 219, 222, 223, 225, 226, 229, 230, 235, 236, 238, 240, 241 fn. 4, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 250, 251, 252, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 271, 272, 276, 300, 303, 325.
Lohara (s), The Advent of the, 160.
Lohāvara (Lahore), 264 fn. 4.
Lohrin, 11.
Lohkot, 166.
Lokaprakāsha, 301, 306.
Lokapuṇya, 222.
Loshṭhadhara, 210.
Loshṭhaka, 272.
Loṭhaka, 269.
Loṭhana (son of Mallarāja), 234 fn. 1, 237, 238, 258, 259, 261, 263, 265, 266, 267, 269.
Loṭhikāmaṭha, 170.
Louis XIV, 51.
Lulla, 258.
Lumbini Pillar Inscription, 16.
Lydekker, 4.

Machin, 31.
Madana (c-in-c), 189, 202, 216.
Madanapāla of Rājapurī, 187.
Madhumatī (R), 214, 216.
Madhyamarāja III, 63.
Madhya Pradesh, 67.
Maḍvarājya (Maraz), 109, 129, 132, 217, 220, 244, 249, 250, 252, 300.
Magadha, 54, 61, 72.
Magadhādhipa, 54.
Magnesium, 10.
Mahābhāṇḍāgāra, 289, 303, 309.
Mahābhārata, 20, 39, 288 fn. 9 for 18 offices, 289, 295.
Mahābhāshya, 26.
Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, 305.
Mahākāla, 76.
Mahākāleśvara, 77, 80.
Mahākshatrapa, 307.
Mahanadi (R), 63.

mahāparinirvāṇa
mahāprachaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka, 305.
mahāpratihārapīḍā, 102, 286, 289, 309.
Maharashtra, 67, 264 fn. 4.
mahāsādhanabhāga, 290, 309.
Mahasarita (R), 245, 253.
mahāsarvadaṇḍanāyaka, 305.
mahattama, 312.
Mahāvaṁsa, 16, 17.
Mahendra, 20.
Mahendrapāla I, 118, 119.
Mahiman, Rebellion of, 146, 148, 158.
Mahmud of Ghazni, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 172, 174 fn. 3, 299.
Mahmud and Kashmir, The First invasion, 165, 166.
Mahmud and Kashmir, The Second invasion, 166.
Maitrakas of Valabhī, 54, 75, 76, 79.
Majjhantika, 16, 17.
Majumdar, R.C., 26, 27, 31, 33, 35, 40, 43, 55, 60, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 89 fn. 1, 106, 117, 118, 122, 163, 165, 166, 170, 178, 198, 212, 264, 275, 276, 277, 278.
Mālava, 32, 33.
Malaya mountains, 69, 70, 71, fn. 3, 72 fn. 1.
Malla, (dvārapati), 189, 190, 191, 192 fn. 5, 215 fn. 3, 223, 234.
Malla assassinated, 223.
Malla, (ruler of Trigarta), 273.
Mallā, (Wife of Loṭhana), 259.
Mallakoshṭha, 240, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 248, 250, 251, 252.
Mallārajuna, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263.
Malwa, 29, 34, 72, 231, 232, 239, 264 fn. 4.
Mamma (*Kalyapāla*), 108.
Mammaṭa (Āchārya), 140 fn. 5.
Manasbal, 6, 7.
maṇḍaleśa, 138, 300.
maṇḍaleśu, 94.
Mandar hills, 57 fn. 2.
Mandeha, 48, 49 fn. 1.
Māndhātā, 114.
mangalyadaṇḍa, 308, 316.
Mānikya, 221, 259, 260, 261.
Mankad, D.R., 14, 17.
mantrin, 293.
mantriparishad, 29.
Manu, 88.
Manujeśvara, 251.
Manurāja, Mori ruler, 77.
Manusmṛiti, 46, 88, fn. 2.
Mārāṭa (Maratha country), 71 fn. 3.
Marco Polo, (Italian traveller), 49.
mārgapati, 301, 306, 307.
maṭha, 137, 139, 170, 176.
Mathura, 102.
Mātṛichakras, 21.
Mātṛigupta, 32, 33, 283.
Matrimonial alliances, 299.
Mātsya Nyāya, 63.
Matsya Purāṇa, 39.
Mau, 46.
Maukharis, 101.
Mauryas (Mauryan), 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 51, 281, 288, 291.
Mayushṭagrāma, 30.
Meghamañjarī (queen of Sussala), 253.
Meghavāhana, 30, 31, 36, 114, 136.
Menander, 22.
Menṭha, 33, 36.

Meruvardhana, 126, 127, 129, 133 fn. 8, 136.
Meruvardhanasvāmin, shrine of, 126.
Mihirabhoja, 117, 118.
Mihirakula, 27, 28, 31, 32, 36.
Mihirapura, 28.
Mihireśvara, temple of, 28.
Milindapañho, 22.
Milinda's Questions, 22.
Minerals, Industrial, 9.
Mineral wealth of the Valley, 9.
Mitāksharā, 41 fn. 4.
Mitra, S.K., 40, 164 fn. 5.
Mitraśarman (the minister of Lalitāditya), 58, 91, 94, 102, 286, 290, 291, 293, 305, 309.
Mlechchhas, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20. 22, 92, 172, 268, 269, 275.
Mohammad Azim (a Muslim Chronicler), 151, 152 fn. 4.
Mohammedans, 7.
Monghyr, 61, 74, 89, 318, 319.
Monier, M. Williams, 49 fn. 1, 140 fn. 5, 153 fn. 1, 171 fn. 7, 174 fn. 3, 186 fn. 1, 205, 292, 310.
Mookerji, R.K., 45, 289, 291, 298.
Mori or Maurya ruler, 77, 80.
Morocco, 8.
Moscow, 167.
Mṛigāvatī (Wife of Nirjitavarman), 127, 128.
Muchukunda, 174 fn. 3.
mūḍha (*mūrkha*), 278.
Mughals, 108, 155, 286.
Muhammad-ibn-Qasim, 55, 84, 160.
Mukerji, U.N., 43.
Mukta, 226.
Muktāpīḍa, 46, 47, 50, 61, 104, 319. see also Lalitāditya
Mukhya-mantṛī, 292.
Multan, 46, 48.
Mummuni, 34 fn. 4.
Mummuni (Śilāhāra), 73, 78.
Mummuni (Tuḥkhāra chief), 83.
muṇḍita (*mūḍī*), 100.
Munshi, K.M., 115 fn. 1, 118, 119, 174 fn. 3.
Musāhibs, 312.
Muslim, 58, 155, 164 fn. 3, 165, 170, 172, 173, 174, fn. 3, 211 fn. 2, 273, 275, 276, 277.
Muslim Chroniclers, 165, 166, 217.
Musinikunda Plates, 67.
Mu-to-pi (Lalitāditya), 82.

Nāga, 270.
Nāga, (a brother of Tuṅga), 167, 168.
Nāga (the town prefect), 225.
Nāga and Garuḍa Struggle, 281.
Nāgabhaṭṭa I, (Gurjara Pratīhāra ruler), 55 fn. 1, 76, 77.
Nāgabhaṭṭa II, 77 fn. 2, 97.
Nāga Clan, 42, 43.
Nāga, Karkoṭa, 39, 40, 41, see also Karkoṭa Nāga.
Nāga, Mahapadma, 102.
Nāga, Nīla, 39, 281.
Nāga, Takshaka, 39, 281.
Nāga, Vāsuki, 39, 281.
Naganāṭakas, 211, fn. 2.
Nāgapāla (brother of Somapāla of Rājapurī), 241 fn. 4.
Nāgārjuna, 24, 25, 26, 36.
Nāgasena (the Buddhist Saint), 22.
Nāgavaṭṭa, 243.
Nāga Worshippers, 39.
nagrādhikṛitas, 138, 272, 295, 296, 297, 309, 317.
nagrādhipa, 295 fn. 4, 309, 310.
nagrādhipati, 289, 295 fn. 4.
nagrādhyaksha, 289, 295 fn. 4.

nagaradivira, 306.
Nalanda, 57, fn. 2, 61, 89, 174 fn. 3, 319.
Nandā, 224.
Nandana, fort of, 164.
Nandigupta, 152, 153 fn. 1, 324.
Nandikshetra, 21, 228.
Nāndīpurī, 76.
Nannarāja (Rāshṭrakūṭa), 68.
Napoleon Bonaparte, 51, 167.
Nara, 27, 36, see also Kiṁnara.
Nara II, 28.
Nara, a merchant, 109.
Naraka, 293 fn. 8.
Narapura, 27, see also Kiṁnarapura.
Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, 27.
Naravāhana, 120 fn. 6.
Naravāhana. 146, 148, 150, 290.
Narendrāditya, 28, 29, see also Khinkhila.
Narendrāditya (son of Yudhishṭhira), 34, see also Laṅkhaṇa.
Narendraprabhā, 46, 52.
Narendrasvāmin, 34.
Narmada (R.), 39.
Narmamālā, 301.
Nausāri Plate, 55 fn. 1.
Navamaṭha, 234 fn. 1, 250, 263.
Nāyaka (s), 212, 310, 315.
Nāyaka, Artha, 310.
Nazim, M., 164 fn. 5, 165, 166.
Nepal, 2, 6, 39, 44, 53, 54, 99, 100, 101, 264 fn. 4.
Nepal Vaṁśāvalis, 100.
Nīlamata Purāṇa, 39, 281, 282 fn. 2, 285.
Nīlapura, 181, 189, 191.
Nīlāśva, 271.
Nirjitavarman (son of Sukharāja), 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 323.
Nītisāra, 88 fn. 2.
Niyogbhak, 312.
Nona (merchant of Rauhitaka), 46, 47.
Nonaka, 198, 201.
Noṇamaṭha, 47.
Nṛipāvalī, 75.
Nurjehan, 155, 324.
Nyāyasāra, 264 fn. 4.

Oḍra, 264 fn. 4.
Oestreich, 5.
Ojha, G.H., 77, 78.
Oldham, 4.
Orissa, 69 fn. 1, 79, 96.
Other revolts, 238.
Other revolts and attempts for the throne, 230.
Ou-kong, 15, 16.
Overthrow of the Usurper Jajja, 98.

Pādāgra, 176, 293, 316.
Padmaka, 239.
Padmapura, 130, 222.
Padmarāja, 174.
Padmśrī (wife of Kalaśa), 195.
Padmaratha, 47, 59.
Padmasvāmin, temple of, 146.
Padmāvatī (queen of Yudhishṭhira), 34.
Pakhlī, 277.
Pakistan, 1, 3, 5, 43.
Pālas, 3, 38, 40, 62, 63, 96, 98.
Pallavas, 53, 55, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 75.
Pamchu, 7.
Pamir, Plateau of, 1.
Pañchachandra, 256.
Pañcha Gauḍa, 95 fn. 2, 96.
Pāñchigrāma, 271.
Pañchamahāśabda, 58, 103, 107, 290, 291, 305, 309.

Pandit, R.S., 20 fn. 5, 29, 30, 31, 32, 49 fn. 1, 83, 86 fn. 2, 120 fn. 5, 133 fn. 8, 186 fn. 1, 291 fn. 5, 292, 293, 294 fn. 8, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 312, 313.

Pāṇḍyas, 70, 75.

Pan-nu-t'so, 43, see also Punch.

Pāpasūdana Tank, 174.

Paramāṇuka (Parmāṇḍi, Paramāṇḍeva, Paramadeva, Paradeva), 275, 276, 277, 326.

Paramāras, 174 fn. 3.

Parameśvaravarman II, (Pallava), 55, 69, 70.

Pārdas, 83.

Pāreviśoka, 45, 141.

Parganas, 109, 301.

Parihāsakeśava (Vishṇu), 88, 89.

Parihāsapura, 85, 92, 137, 208.

Parinirvāṇa, 17.

Pārishadya, 310, 311.

Parmāl Rāso, 40 fn. 6.

Parṇotsa (mod. Punch or Prunts), 10, 11, 145, 247, 248.

Pārshad, 310, 311.

Pārśva, 24 fn. 6.

Pārtha, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 134, 323.

Parthians, 15.

Parvagupta, 131, 132, 139, 140, 141, 142, 146, 150, 324.

Parvagupteśvara, shrine of, 142.

Pārvatī (Goddess), 281.

Paryuka, 265.

Pāśupata sect, 35.

Pathari inscription, 47 fn. 2.

Paṭala, 146, 158.

Paṭṭa, 209, 220.

Pattana, 121.

Paṭṭopādhyāya, 305, 312.

Pauṇḍravardhana, 94, fn. 5.

Pavye, 71, fn. 3,

Peat, 9.

Permāṇḍi (Permaḍi), 212.

Persia, 86 fn. 2.

Persian, 13, 16.

Peshawar, 8.

Phalguṇa, 133, fn. 8, 144, 145, 151, 152, 155, 157, 158, 292.

Pheoa inscription, 117, 118.

Phullapura, 253.

Piñchadeva, 269.

Pires, E., 61, 89, 97.

Pir Panjal, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 27, 116.

Plot against Kandarpa and his fall, 208.

Pohra, 7.

Political Boundaries of ancient Kashmir, 2.

Political topography of Kashmir, 10.

Polybius, 19.

Porus, 65.

Prabhākaravarman (a minister), 121, 122, 123.

Prabhāvakcharita, 97.

Prāgjyotishpura, 30, 83.

Prājimaṭhikā, 215, fn. 3.

Prajji (commander), 250, 251, 252.

Prākṛita, 13, 83.

Prakṛitapaingalaṁ, 264.

Pramoda, 102.

Prāsa, 238, 239.

Praśastakalaśa, 192, 202.

Praśastarāja (a Ḍāmara Chief), 218.

Praśastarāja, 255.

Praśastikāra, 72.

Praśastipaṭṭa, 313.

Pratāpa (son of Utkarsha), 229.

Pratāpāditya I, 24.

Pratāpāditya, 105.

Pratāpapāla (step-brother of

Somapāla of Rājapurī), 241 fn. 4.
Pratāpapura (mod. Tapor) city founded by Durlabhavardhana, 47 fn. 1.
Pratāpāśīla (Śīlāditya, son of Vikramāditya of Saurāshṭra), 34.
Prathamakāyastha, 41 fn. 4.
Pratīhāras, 72.
Pratīhāra (chamberlain), 115, 229, 286.
pratikara, 315.
pratyāḥvetana, 185, 186 fn. 1, 317.
Pravarasena I, 30, see also Tuñjina II Śreshṭhasena.
Pravarasena II, (son of Toramāṇa and Añjanādevī), 32, 33, 34, 36,
Pravarapura, 88.
Pravareśvara, shrine of, 31.
Prayaga (tirtha), 94.
Prayāga (brother of Mukta), 226, 276.
Preman, 258.
Pṛithivīchandra, ruler of Tṛigarta, 117.
Pṛithivyāpīḍa, 92.
Pṛithivyāpīḍa, 107, other name of Sangrāmāpīḍa.
Pṛithvīgirī, 213.
Pṛithvihara, 242, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253.
Pṛithvīpāla, 157.
Prithvīpāla, 253.
Ptolemy 2, 22.
Pulakeśin, Avanījanāśraya, 55 fn. 1.
Punch, 2, 11, 43.
Punjab, 3, 30, 48, 53, 57, 74, 116, 118, 174 fn. 3, 320.
Puri, B.N., 13, 14, 118, 289.
Purohitas, 137, 247, 282, 285, 290, 310.
Pushpabhūtis, 32, 53, 298.
Pushyamitra Śuṅga, 52.
Pushyāṇanāḍa, 248, 250.

Queen's Edict, 18 fn. 2.

Raḍḍā Devī, (mother of Gulhaṇa, wife of Jayasiṁha), 272.
Radhanpur inscription, 77 fn. 2.
Raḍḍa Śaṅkharāja, 233, 234.
Ragholi Plates, 96.
Raghuvaṁśa, 76.
Rāja-gurus, 282.
Rai Kings of Sindh, 54.
Rājabhadra of the Bhaḍra dynasty, 63.
Rājakalaśa, 162.
Rājakulabhaṭṭa, 148.
Rājalakshmī, (queen of Sussala), 236 fn. 8.
Rājānaka, 140 fn. 5, 291, 292.
Rājapurī, (Rājāpurī, Ho-lo-she-pu-lo), 2, 11, 43, 157, 188, 190, 207, 210, 213, 214, 218, 219, 232, 241, 242, 255, 277, 279.
Rājarāja, 173.
Rājarājabhaṭa, of the Khaḍga dynasty, 54.
Rājaśastra, 282 fn. 2.
Rājasiṁha I (Pāṇḍya), 70.
Rājasthān, 77, 79.
Rājasthāna, 311.
Rājasthānādhikāra, 192 fn. 5.
Rājasthānādhikārabhak, 311.
Rājasthānīya, 311.
Rājataraṅgiṇī, (*R.T.*), 2, 3, 12, 14, 15 ff.
Rājataraṅgiṇī (Jonarāja), 12, 273, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280.
Rājataraṅgiṇī (Śrīvara), 12.
Rajauri, 2, 11.

Rājavadana, 267, 268, 270, 271, 272.
Rājavihāra, 211.
Rājyas, 301.
Rakka, (a minister) 145, 147, 148, 150, 151, 294.
rākshasa, 49 fn. 1.
Ralhaṇa, (son of Dhammaṭa), 210.
Ralhaṇa, 255.
Rāmavardhana, 141.
Rāma of Raghu family, 35.
Rāmasvāmī, 89, 211.
Rāmadeva, 123.
Ram Tej Shastri, 32, 49 fn. 1, 131 fn. 3, 133 fn. 2, 186 fn. 1, 192 fn. 5.
Rāmāyaṇa, 295 fn. 6.
Raṇāditya, 34, 35, 36. see also Tuñjina.
Raṇārambhā, (Chola princes, queen of Raṇāditya), 34, 35.
Rāshṭrakūṭa (s), 53, 66, 67, 68, 70, 73, 76, 77, 97, 98.
Ratisena, (Chola king), 34.
Ratnākara, 140 fn. 5.
Ratnakalaśa, 192
Raṭṭā queen (Eastern Chālukyan family) 65, 66, 68, 69 fn. 1, 70, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79.
Rauhitaka, (Rohtak), 46 fn. 5.
Rāvaṇa, 27.
Ravi (R.), 22.
Rawalpindi, 43.
Ray, H.C., 47, 48, 54, 95, 98, 159, 160.
Ray, N. R., 44, 45.
Ray, S. C., 13, 22, 40, 43, 47, 59, 137, 172, 191, 288, 289, 290, 295, 300, 301.
Raychaudhari, H. C., 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 298, 318, 319, 320, 321.
Rebellion of Dhanva Ḍāmara, 114.
Rebellion of ministers and Vigraharāja, 156.
Regmi, D. R., 101.
Remusat, A., 43, 47.
Renewed attempt by Bhikshāchara, 250.
Revatīdvīpa, 71 fn. 3.
Revenues, 314-17.
Revolt of Gargachandra, 237.
Revolt at Lohara.
Revolt of Sussala and the Rise of Pretenders, 229.
Rice-Crops, 3.
Ṛigveda, 38, 40.
Rilhaṇa, 258, 262, 269, 270, 271.
Rivers, 3.
Rodgers, C., 278, 280.
Rudrapāla, (Shāhi), 170, 171, 172, 173.
Rummindei, 16.
Rumours of the death of Sussala, 236 fn. 8.

Sachau, E., 80, 85.
Śachīnara, 14.
Sachiva, 293 fn. 5.
Sadāśiva, temple of, 173,
Saḍḍa, 232, 233.
Sagar (King), 83.
Sahajapāla (ruler of Rājapurī), 187.
Sahajapāla (ruler of Vartula), 239.
Sahasramaṅgala, 237 fn. 7, 238, 239.
Sahāya, 312.
Sahela, 214, 220, 222, 240.
Śakas, 83, 172.
Śaila dynasty, 54, 96.
Śailodbhavas, 63.
Sainyabhīta II or III, 63.

Śaiva, 18, 20, 22, 28, 34, 36, 143, 174 fn. 3.
Śaivism, 18, 21, 26, 30, 36, 109.
Salha (son of a concubine of Harsha), 231.
Salhaṇa (son of Mallarāja), 234 fn. 1, 236, 237, 238, 258, 266.
Sallāra Vismaya (a Turushka), 246.
Salt Range, 2.
Śambhuvardhana, 129, 130.
Śamālā, 249, 252, 255, 269, 271.
Samangad Plates, 71.
Sāmanta (*Śrī Sāmantadeva* legend on Coins), 122.
Saṁmantrya, 291 fn. 5.
Samudradhārā, 268.
Samudragupta, 50, 52, 65, 305
Sangaṭa of Uraśā, 190, 191.
Sandhimati (or Sandhimat), 29, 30, 282.
Sanghamitrā, 20.
Sangharaksha, 24.
Sāndhivigrahika, 286, 290, 293.
Saṅgrāma Ḍāmara, 126, 130, 143, 150.
Saṅgrāma Deva, 139, 140, 141, 325.
Saṅgrāmagupta, 140 fn. 5, 141.
Saṅgrāmapāla of Rājapurī, 187, 190, 191, 207, 208, 213, 218, 219, 232.
Saṅgrāmapāla of Rājapurī, Second expedition against, 213.
Saṅgrāmāpīḍa I, 92.
Saṅgrāmāpīḍa II, 107, 108.
Saṅgrāmarāja (son of Didda's brother Udayarāja), 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169.
Sañjapāla, 231, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 262, 269, 272.
Śaṅkarapura, 119.
Saṅkata, 123.
Śaṅkaravardhana, 126, 129, 130.
Śaṅkaravarman (also known as Yaśovarman), 115, 118, 121, 122, 123, 124, 135, 285, 287, 299, 304, 307, 315, 322.
Śaṅkaravarman, Conquests of, 116.
Śaṅkaravarman, army of, 116.
Śaṅkaravarman's War against Dārvābhisāra, 116.
Śaṅkaravarman's, victory over the ruler of Trigarta, 117.
Śaṅkaravarman's Victory over the Gurjara Chief, 117.
Śaṅkaravarman, atrocities of, 119.
Śaṅkaravarman, End of, 120.
Śaṅkha (Conch-Shell), 290.
Śaṅkharāja, 234, 236.
Sapphires, 9.
Saptaṅga, 88.
Sardi, 12.
Śarkoṭa, 38.
Sarnath, 61, 89, 319.
Sārvabhauma, 65.
sarvadaṇḍanāyāka, 305.
sarvādhikārin, 292.
Sarvaratha (minister), 34.
Śarvaṭa, 130.
Śaśi Śekhara, 34 fn. 9.
Śāstā, 30.
Śāstras, 87.
Sastri, K.A.N., 13, 16, 17, 55, 63, 70.
Satara, 212.
Sātvāhanadeva (Śāla or Sāhavāhana, ruler of Champā), 174 fn. 4, 177, 178, 181 fn. 3.
Saubhāgyalekhā (married to Somapāla), 232.
Saurāshṭra, 34, 264 fn. 5.
Saurāshṭra-maṇḍala, 76.

Sāvarṇikā, 263.
Script, Shārdā, 84, 85.
Śeḍa, 311.
Selucids, 15.
Selukos, 104.
Sen, B.C., 94 fn. 5, 95, 96.
Senāpati, 294.
Seng-ha-pu-lo, 45. see also Siṁhapura.
Shaḍarhadvana (mod. Harvan), 25.
Shadipur, 7.
Shāhi, 48, 53, 74, 122, 123, 124, 143, 144, 147, 148, 154, 163, 164, 166, 170, 172, 173, 174 fn. 3, 176, 182, 183, 223, 225, 273, 294, 299, 320.
Shāhi Dominance at Kashmir Court, 170.
Shāhi Rebellion, 122.
Shahjehan, 52, 193.
Shashṭhachandra, 268, 269, 270, 272.
Sheshnag, 7.
Śhobhaka, 254.
Sidau, 7.
Siddha, 27.
Śīlāditya, 32, 34.
Śīlāditya V (Maitraka king), 54, 75, 76.
Śīlāditya VI, (Maitraka king), 76.
Śīlāditya VII (Maitraka king) 75, 76.
Śīlāditya Pratāpaśīla, 34.
Śilāhāra, 79, 264 fn. 5.
Śilāhāra Mārasiṁha, 212.
Silā-Vigaḍa, 16.
Siṁha, 250.
Siṁhala, 28. see also Sri Lanka
Siṁhapura, 2, 43.
Siṁharāja, Darad Chief, 116.
Siṁharāja, Khaśa Chief of Lohara, 143, 154.
Siṁharotsikā, (Village), 35.
Sindh, 47, 48, 53, 54.
Sindhu (R), 7.
Sindhu, 150.
sindhugañja, 307.
Sinha, B.P., 33, 40, 63, 95, 96, 97, 100.
Sinkiang, 81.
Siraḥśila, 265.
Sircar, D. C., 16, 41 fn. 4, 59, 60, 95 fn. 2, 155, 158, 268 fn. 3, 305 fn. 6.
Śiśu, 153 fn. 1.
Śiva, 35, 114, 282 fn. 2.
Śivadeva II (King of Nepal), 54.
Śiva-lingas, 35.
Si-yu-ki, 2, 4, 11, 15, 18, 25, 27.
Skandagupta (minister), 34.
Skandakas, 301 fn. 9.
Skardu, 268 fn. 3.
Slave dynasty, 149.
Smith, V.A., 17, 57 fn. 2, 59, 89 fn. 1, 95, 97, 100, 191, 264 fn. 4, 280 fn. 2, 318, 319, 320.
Snatas, 313.
Snowfall, 8.
Sodara, 21.
Śodāsa, 307.
Somapāḷa of Rājapurī, 232, 241, 246, 247, 248, 249, 257, 258, 260.
Somavarmadeva, 177.
Sona Sar, 7.
Sopoor, 7.
Sorceress, 21.
Sorcery (witch-craft), 49 fn. 4.
Sorensen, S., 39 fn. 2.
South Carolina, 8.
South Kośala, 25.
Springs, thermāl and Mineral, 10.

Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya (*yuvarāja*), 72.
Śreshṭhasena, 31. see also Tuñjina II, Pravarasena I
Śrīdeva, 98.
Śrīḍhakka, 130.
Śrī Harshadeva (legend), 320.
Śrī-ja-Pratāpa type of Coins of Jayāpīḍa, 103, 104, 105, 106, 320, 322.
Sri Lanka, 20, 30, 298, see also Siṁhala
Śrīlekhā (queen of Ananta), 169, 170.
Srinagar, 5, 6, 7, 8, 16, 21, 25, 46, 47, 113, 144, 219, 245, 256.
Śṛinga (the horn), 290.
Ṣringāra, 263, 265.
Śrī Pratāpa, 319, 320, 321.
Sron-Tsan-Gampo (Tibetan King), 81.
Śrī Yaśovarman (legend), 320.
Stein, A., 2, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 34, 39, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 58, 60 fn. 6, 64, 66, 68, 71, 82, 85, 92, 94 fn. 5, 100, 101, 102 fn. 1, 108 fn. 2, 117 fn. 1, 120 fn. 7, 131, 140 fn. 5, 143, 144, 145, 154, 157, 164, 171 fn. 7, 172, 174 fn. 3, 181 fn. 4, 186 fn. 1, 191, 192 fn. 5, 204, 205 fn. 5, 210, 211 fn. 2, 215 fn. 3, 260 fn. 8, 268 fn. 3, 271 fn. 10, 290, 291 fn. 5, 292, 293, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 312, 313, 314, 318, 319.
Sthāneśvara, 41, 44.
stheya, 311, 312.
Sthiramati, 26.
Ston-pa (Stūpa), 30 fn. 2.
Strabo, 15.
Strīrājya, 83, 99, 102.
Stupas, 15, 16, 21, 24, 30.
Subhāgasena, 19.
Subhāshitāvalī, 29.
Subuktagin, 164 fn. 5.
Subsequent Developments, 258.
Succession, 283, see also Kingship
Sūda, 6.
Śūdra, 113.
Sugandhā (queen of Śaṅkaravarman), 116, 118, 121, 123, 124, 125, 284, 287, 323.
Sugandhāditya, 127.
Sugandhasīha (brother of Tuṅga), 162.
Sujji, 251, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262.
Sukhvarman (son of Utpalaka), 108, 109.
Sukhavarman (son of Śūravarman), 115, 116, 117.
Sulphur, 10.
Sultan Iltutmish, 149.
Sumbal, 7.
Śungas, 20, 26, 52.
Sung-yun (Chinese ambassador), 27.
Sunna (Chief minister of Harsha), 202.
Sunna (the city-prefect), 207, 208, 213, 214, 220, 224.
Suppression of the Ḍāmaras, 217.
Śūra, (the minister), 109, 111, 112, 114.
Sūra, Influence of, 112.
Śūra, 258, 259.
Śūramaṭha, 146.
Śūrapura, 221, 249, 250, 255, 258, 269,
Śūravarman (step brother of Avantivarman), 114, 115.
Śūravarman I, 128.
Śūrāvarman II, 132 fn. 8, 133, 136.
Ṣūrya, 235.

Sussala (son of Malla), 215 fn. 3, 216, 217, 220, 222, 224, 225, 229, 230, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 276, 295, 326.
Sussala, Rebellion of, 221.
Sussala, Capture of Vijayeśvara by, 224.
Sussala, Reappearance of, 248.
Sussala Return to Power, 248.
Sussala, Last days of, 254.
Śushkaletra, 98.
Suvarṇadvīpa, 174 fn. 3.
Suvarṇamaṇikulyā, 314.
Suvarṇa Rūpaka, 318.
Suvrata, 75.
Suyaśa, 18. see also Jalauka and Kuṇāla
Suyya (a minister of Avantivarman), 113, 134, 300, 314.
Svayaṁvara, 67.
Svāmisena (Darad Chief), 119.
Svetā (queen of Mallarāja), 234 fn. 1.
Syāla, 93.
Szechuan, 81.

Ta-cha-shi-lo, 43, see also Takshaśila.
Takkaland, 118.
Takshaśilā, 19, 43, see also Taxila
Ṭammaṭa (tambour), 290.
T'ang dynasty, 51.
Ṭaṅkī (new type of coin), 205, 318.
Tantric, 21.
Tantrins, 121, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 233, 245, 248, 283, 287.
Tanvaṅgarāja, 181, 184, 187, 209, 210.
Tapar, 276 fn. 4.
Tapar inscription, 276 fn. 4.
Tāramūlaka, 221, 222, 271.
Tāranāth, 19.
Tārāpīḍa, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52.
Tarikh-i-Hasan, 277, 278.
Tarikh-i-Yamini, 163.
Tarn, W.W., 22.
Tar-Sar, 17.
Tathāgata, 25.
Taulava or South Kanara, 71 fn. 3,
Tawney, C.H., 39.
Taxila, 2, 18. see also Takshaśilā.
Tchen-to-le-pi-li (name of Chandrāpīḍa in Chinese annals), 47, 56 fn. 2.
Tejakaṇṭha, 264.
Telaṅga, 264 fn. 5.
terai, 54, 101.
Thakkan (a Shāhi Chieftain), 147, 148.
Thakkiya Chieftain, 118.
Ṭhakkur guards, 194, 196, 198, 201, 218, 260, 261.
Ṭhākurī family of Nepal, 53.
Thakur, Upendra, 28.
Thalyoraka, 243.
Thapar, R., 17, 18, 19.
Thāneśvara, 57 fn. 5.
The Aftermath, 168.
The Dawn of a New Era, 136.
The Dugdhaghāta Expedition, 214.
The Expedition to Lohara, 246.
The Rājapurī Affairs, 187.
The Rise of the Utpalas, 111.
The Unfortunate King of Gauḍa, 88.
The Uprising of the Ḍāmaras, 150.
Ṭibet, 61, 82, 96.

Tibet, South (Lohar or Loh), 30.
Tibetan, 12, 39, 53, 54, 57 fn. 2, 80, 81, 82, 100, 298.
Tibeto-Chinese, 16.
Ṭikka, 255, 257.
Tilagrāma, 266.
Tilaka (C-in-C), 242, 243, 244, 248.
Tilakasiṁha, 236.
Tilakwada grant of Bhoja, 174 fn. 3.
Tīrthas, 19, 20, 20, 209.
Tīvala (Kuṇāla-Tīvala), 18.
Tod, J., 77, 78.
Tohi (Prunts), 11.
Tooth-Relic of the Lord Buddha, 44, 298.
Toramāṇa, 31, 32, 33, 318.
Toramāṇa, coins of, 32 fn. 2.
Toramāṇa (Kamaluka son of Lalliya), 122.
Toshmaidan Pass, 166.
Tribhuvana, 152, 153 fn. 2, 325.
Tribhavana, a Ḍāmara, 171, 172.
Tribhuvanāpīḍa, 108.
Trigarta, 31, 34, 116, 140 fn. 5, 273, see also Kangra.
Trillaka, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272.
Trilochanapāla (Shāhi), 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 174 fn. 3, 299.
Tripureśvara (mountain, mod. Triphar), 114.
Triveda, D.S., 14, 17, 35.
Trogus, 15.
Trouble by the Ḍāmaras, 227.
Troyer, 92.
Tuḥkhāras, 73, 80, 83.
Tuḥkhāra land, 80.
Tulla (grandson of Tanvaṅga), 210.
Tu-lo-pa (Durlabhavardhana), 43.
Tuluṅga, 71 fn. 3.
Tuṅga (a Khaśa), 154, 156, 157, 158, 161, 162, 164, 165, 168.
Tuṅga at his Zenith, 161.
Tungeśvara, 29.
Tuñjina, 29.
Tuñjina II, 31.
Turan, 82.
Turks, 84, 85, 121, 163, 172.
Turks (Ghaznavide), 163.
Turkish, 38.
Turkistan, 78, 80.
Turushkas, 72 fn. 4, 75, 83, 119, 164, 165, 167, 187, 211 fn. 2, 213, 246, 269, 276.

Uchchhala (son of Malla), 215 fn. 3, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 237, 238, 295, 326.
Uchchhala, Invasion of, 219.
Uchchhala captures Srinagar, 224.
Udabhāṇḍapura, 53, 122, 123, 164.
Uḍar, 6.
Udaya, 257, 258, 259, 262, 265, 266, 269, 270.
Udayana, 261.
Udayarāja (brother of Diddā), 158.
Uḍḍāra, 6.
Udgrāhaka, 308.
Ujjain (Ujjayinī), 32, 34, 72 fn. 1, 76.
Ujjhaṭaḍimba, 20.
Ujyārḍemb, 20.
Ulhaṇa. 262 fn. 6.
U-li-to (ambassador), 82.
Unmattāvantivarman, 131 fn. 3, 132, 134, 141, 323.
Upāṅgagītas, 192.

Uprising and Haladhara in Disgrace, 178.
Uprising of the Ḍāmaras, 243.
Uraśā, 2, 11, 120, 170, 189, 190, 191, 218, see also Wu-la-shi.
Usurpation of the Throne by Jajja, 93.
Utkarsha of Lohara, 190, 191, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 209, 229.
Utpala, 255.
Utpala dynasty, 107, 109, 111, 114, 125, 133, 135, 136, 299, 303, 319, 320, 323.
Utpalaka, 107, 108, 109, 110, 290.
Utpalāksha, 27.
Utpalāpīḍa, 108, 109.
Uttamarāja, 190.
Uttara-Kuru, 38, 268 fn. 3.
Uttarāpatha, 73, 120.
Uttara Pradesh, 39, 104, 105, 106, 319.

Vaidya, C. V., 41, 42, 45, 46, 48, 51, 64, 80, 82, 84, 95, 108, 114, 116, 122, 123, 172, 298.
Vaikuṇṭha Perumal temple inscription, 69.
Vainyasvāmī, temple of,
Vaishṇavism, 109, 114
Vaiśya, 41, 283, 293.
Vaitariṇī (R.), 222.
Vāj(h)eshka, 23, 25. see also Jushka.
Vāj(h)eshkapura or Jushkapura (mod. Zukur), 25.
Vājivraja, (herds of horses), 190
Vajradhara of Babbāpura, 239
Vajrāditya, 90, 91, 92, see also Bappiya or Bappiyaka.
Vajrāditya, 47. see also Chandrāpīḍa.
Vajrāyudha of Kanauj, 97, 98.
Valabhī, 54, 75, 76, 79.
Vākāṭakas, 53.
Vākpatirāja (poet), 52, 53, 54, 57 fn. 2, 60, 65, 79, 87.
Vallāpura, (Ballapura), 10, 178, 190, 191, 239.
Valley of Ganga-Yamuna, 34.
Valley of Kishenganga, (Karnau), 12.
Valley of Vitastā, 11.
Valley, Variety of the, 6.
Vālukāmbodheh, 268 fn. 3.
Vālukāsamudra, (Gobi desert), 83.
Vāmana (a minister), 191.
Vañchanā, 205 fn. 5.
Vantideva (Varṭṭideva, Avantideva), 277, 278, 325.
Vaṅga, 54, 61, 62, 264 fn. 4.
Vanikāvāsa, 258.
Vārabāla, 21.
Vardhana, 41.
Varahaṭachakra, 231.
Varāhamūla (Baramula), 10, 220, 236.
Varāhavarta, 229.
Varalaṭṭa, 71 fn. 3.
Varanasi, 33, 61, 62, 209, 319.
Varendrī, 53.
Varaṇaṭa, 139.
Vartula, 232, 239.
Vasantalekhā, (chief queen of Harsha), 206.
Vasu, N.N., 95,
Vasukula, 27.
Vasunanda, 28.
Vatsadevī(a daughter of Maukhari Bhogvarman), 101 fn. 4.
Vatsarān, (*Vāsarān*), 92.
Vatsarāja, 97.
Vatsarāja, (a chamberlain), 157.

Vātāpī, (or Badami, mod. Bijapur), 55.
Vāyu-Purāṇa, 39.
Vedic, 39, 40.
Ved Kumari, 285.
Vehat or Behat, 7. see also Jhelum, Veth.
Veshau, 7.
Veth, 7. see also Jhelum.
Vibhīshaṇa I, 27.
Vidyādhara, Shāhi, 203.
Viḍḍasīha, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270.
Vigraharāja of Lohara, 156, 157, 167, 170, 181 fn. 3.
Vigraharāja's bid for the throne, 170.
Vigraharāja, 265, 266, 267.
Vihāras, 21, 24, 25, 30, 34, 143, 174 fn. 3, 193.
Vijaya, 29.
Vijaya, 243.
Vijayāditya I (Chālukya), 65, 67, 72.
Vijayakshetra, 222, 224, 249, 250, 251, 252, 272.
Vijayamalla, (son of Kalaśa), 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 204, 210.
Vijayamalla, Revolt of, 197, 203.
Vijayapāla, 230.
Vijayasiṁha, 202, 296, 297.
Vijayeśa, temple of, 16, 21, 27, 29, 244.
Vijayeśvara, (town founded by Vijaya), 29, 183, 184, 187, 244. 247.
Vijñānvādin, 26.
Vikarsha, 210.
Vikrama, 32, 33,
Vikramāditya, Chandragupta II, 50.
Vikramāditya II (Chālukya), 55. 68, 69, 70.
Vikramāditya IV of Kalyāṇī, 205, 211 fn. 2.
Vikramāditya, legendary, 137.
Vikramāditya of Malwa, 29, 32, 33, 34.
Vikramāṅkadevacharita, 172, 177, 178, 181 fn. 3.
Vikramārajunavijaya, (also called *Pampa Bhārata*), 72.
Vilabdhisthāvara, 171.
Vinayāditya, 93, 103, 104, see also Jayāpīda.
Vindhyas, 54, 68.
Vinnapa, 114, 115.
Vīrānaka (mod. Viran), 120, 235.
Vīrasena, 19.
Virāṭa or Hangal (Dharwar), 71, fn. 3.
Virji, K. V., 54.
Vishalāṭā, 251.
Vishaya, 301.
Vishṇu, 35.
Vishṇudharmasūtra, 41, fn. 4.
Vishṇu Durlabhasvamin, temple of, 46.
Vishṇu Purāṇa, 39.
Vishṇuvardhana III (Chālukya), 55, 66, 67.
Viśoka (R.) modern Visau, 140 fn. 5.
Vissāvaṭṭa, 193.
Vitastā (R), 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 27, 113, 117 fn. 1, 137, 141, 210, 211, 253, see also Jhelum.
Vogel, J. Ph., 38, 39, 178, 191.
Vopyadeva (or Vuppadeva, Bopadeva, Vuppedeva), 278, 279.
Vyāghra, 255.
Vyaḍḍamaṅgala (a close relation of Malla) W, 223.

Wadia, D.N., 2, 5, 6, 9, 10.
Wakiat-i-Kashmir, 89, fn. 1, 277.
Watters, T., 15, 37, 43, 44, 284, 298.
Wilson, H.H., 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 43, 47, 59, 71 fn. 3, 83, 89, 108, 115, fn. 2.
Woolar (Lake), 6, 7.
Wu-la-shi, 12, 43, see also Uraśā.

Yajñaśrī Gautamīputra (Sātavāhana), 26.
Yājñavalkya 41 fn. 4.
Yājñavalkya Smṛiti, 41 fn. 4, 264 fn. 5.
Yajñopavīta, 307, 316.
Yamunā (R.), 56, 59.
Yamini Sultans of Ghazni, 164 fn. 5.
Yarkand, 268 fn. 3.
Yaśaskara, 133 fn. 8, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140 fn. 5, 142, 281, 296, 323.
Yaśaskara, Death of, 139.
Yāshṭika (armed guards), 286, 312.
Yaśodhara, His rise and rebellion, 147, 148, 149, 294.
Yaśodhara (Darad chief), 265.
Yaśodharman, 27.
Yaśovarman of Kanauj, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 74, 79, 82, 87, 89, fn. 1, 91, 97, 105, 106, 286, 293.
Yaśovarman, (title of Śaṅkaravarman), 116, 320.
Yavana, 72 fn. 4, 83.
Yazdani, G., 54, 55, 67, 68. 72.
Yojanas, 22.
Yona-Kamboja-Gandhara, 16.
Yuddhamalla (Dngdhamalla), 72, 75.
Yudhishṭhira, 20.
Yudhishṭhira (Andha Yudhishṭhira), 29, 30.
Yudhishṭhira (son of Pravarasena), 34.
Yudhishṭhira (Epic king), 288.
Yule, H., 49.
Yunnān, 81.
Yuvarāja, 114, 115, 286.

Zojila Pass, 12.
Zain-ul-abidin, 275.